

THE
COLLECTION
OF THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

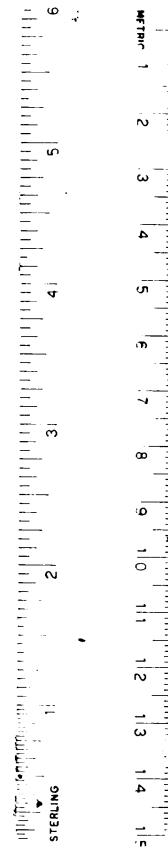
By Samuel Daniel.

Revised, and by his last corrected
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L O N D O N
Printed by *Tho. Cotes*, for *Simon Waterston* dwelling at
the Signe of the Crowne in *Pauls Church-yard*.

1634





TO
THE MAIESTY
OF ANNE OF DEN-
MARKE, QVENE OF ENG-
land, Scotland, France, and Ireland.



Venes, the Mothers of our Kings, by whom is continued the Blessing of succession that preserves the Kingdome, having their parts running in the times wherein they live, and likewise interested in the Histories thereof, which containe their memories and all that is left of them, when they have left to be in this world. And therefore to you great Queene of England (and the greater by your love to the Nation, and the blessing you have brought forth for the continuation of the future good thereof) doe I your humblest servant addresse this peece of our History; which, as it is a worke of mine, appertaines of right to your Majesty, being for the most part done under your Roofe, during my attendance upon your sacred Person; and if ever it shall come to be an entire worke, and merit any acceptation in the world, it must remaine among the memorials of you, and your time, as

TO THE READER.

with all such Collections, as have beene made out of others for those times. In the Lives of Henry the Second, Richard the First, John and Henry the third : Giraldus Cambrensis, Rushanger, Mat. Paris, Mat. Westminst. Nich. Trivet, Caxton, and others. In the Lives of Edward the first, Edward the second and third : Froissart and Walsingham, with such Collections as by Polydore Virgile, Fabian, Grafton, Hall, Holinshed, Stow and Speed, diligent and divulged to the world. For sorraine busynesses (especially with France, where we had most to doe) I have for Authors, Paulus Emilius, Haillau, Tillet, and others, without whom we cannot truly understand our owne Affayres. And where otherwise I have had any supplies extraordinary, either out of Record or such Instruments of State, as I could procure, I have given a true account of them in the Margin. So that the Reader shall be sure to be payde with no counterfeit Coyne, but such as shall have the Stampe of Antiquity, the approbation of Testimony, and the allowance of Authority, so farre as I shall proceed herein.

And for that I would have this Breviary to passe with an vn-interrupted delivery of the especiall Affaires of the Kingdome (without imbroiling the memory of the Reader) I have in a body apart, under the Title of an Appendix, Collected all Treaties, Letters, Articles, Charters, Ordinances, Entertainements, provisions of Armies, busynesses of Commerce, with other passages of State appertaining to our History; which as soone as I have meanes to Print, shall for the better satisfying of such Worthy persons, as may make use of such Materials, accompany this Collections; and to this Appendix, I haue made references in the Margin as occasion requires.

For the Worke it selfe, I can challenge nothing therein but onely the sowing it together, and the observation of those necessary circumstances, and inferences which the History naturally ministers: Desirous to deliver things done, in as even, and quiet an Order, as such an heape will permit, without quarrelling with the Beliefe of Antiquity, depraving the actions of other nations to advance our owne, or keeping backe those Reasons of State they had, for what they did in those times: holding it fittest and best agreeing with Integrity (the chiefeſt duty of a Writer,) to leaue things to their owne Fame, and the Censure thereof to the Reader, as being his part rather than mine, who am onely to recite things done, not to rule them.

TO THE READER.

Now for the errors herein committed, either by mine owne mistakings or the Printers over-sight, I must crave Pardon of course; it is a Fate Common to Bookes and Booke-men, and we cannot avyde it: For besides our owne saylings, we must here take up many things upon other mens credits, which often comes imperfect to our hands: As the summes of Monies, numbers of Souldiers, Shippes, the slaine in Battaille, Computation of Times, differences of Names and Titles, &c. Wherein our Authors agree not. And it were to be wished that we had more assured notes of these particulars than we have, especially for summes of Monies (in regardit serves much for instruction) wherein I doubt many of our Collectors have beene but ill Accountants, reckoning Markes for Pounds, and Pounds for Markes. The Computation of Times is not of so great moment, figures are easily mistaken; the 10. of July, and the 6. of August, with a yeaſe over or under, makes not a man the wiser in the busynesse then done, which is onely that he desires. But these things being but of the By, the understanding Reader will not much care to ſet at them, and therefore I referre him to the Maine, of more important conſideration.

London 16. Oct. 1725

If you have any more work as a gentlewoman it is Mr Daniel but
of all him in bringing together more materials of importance



THE COLLECTION OF THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND: CONTAINING

BRIEFLY THE ESPECIALL AF-
FAIRES OF THE GOVERNMENT:

Compiled by SAMUEL DANIEL, one of
the Groomes of the Queenes Majesties most
Honourable privie Chamber.



Undertaking to collect the principall affaires of this Kingdome, I had a desire to haue deduced the same from the beginning of the first Brittish Kings; as they are registered in their Catalogues; but finding no authenticall warrant how they came thereto, I did put off that desire with these considerations: That a lesser part of time, and better knowne (which was from William the first, Surnamed the Bustard) was more than enough for my ability; and how it was but our curiositie to search further backs into times past than we might discerne, and whereof we could neither haue prooife nor profit; How the beginnings of all people, and States were as uncertaine, as the heads of great Rivers: and could not adde to our vertus; and peradventure little to our reputation to know them. Considering how commonly they rise from the springs of poverty, pyracie, robbery, and violence; howsoever fabulous writers (to glorie their nations) strive to abuseth the credulitie of after ages with heroycall or miraculous beginnings. For States (as men) are ever best scene, when they are up, and as they are, not as they were. Besides, (it seemes) God in his providence to check our presumptuous inquisition, wraps up all things in uncertainty, barres us out from long antiquity, and bounds our searches within the compasse of a few ages, as if the same were sufficient both for example, and instruction to the governtment of men. For had we the particular occurrents of all ages, and all nations, it might more stresse, but not better our understanding. We shall finde still the same correspondencies to hold in the actions of men: Vertues, and Vices the same, though rising and falling, according to the worth, or weaknesse of Governors: the causes of the ruines, and mutations of States to be alike: and

tongue, so many hundred yeares before) would have beene as forwa rd in the liberall Sciences, as the *Romans*, and not needed this emollition by learning. Philosophy would have prepared them to a sufferance of subjection, that they could not have bin so universally rude, and barbarous as they are reported to have been. So that I feare me, of all that lies beyond this time, we can have no other intelligence, but by tradition. Which how we may credite for so long past (when letters, for all the assurance they can make, breake faith with us in the information of things even present) let it be judged.

Nostra cstate, inquit Strabo, lib 4. Regulorum quidem Britankorum, legationibus & officijs amicis etiam Augusti Cæs. consecuti, danaria in Capitolio dedicarunt: familiaremque Romanis totam pene insulam redigunt. And at that time it seemes by Strabo, hold it not worth the garding, for that it wold not quite the charge.

And now for the time since, (which seemes to be all that amounts to our knowledge of the State of *Brittaine*) we find it, during the domination of the *Romans* governed by their *Prefects*: and if they had Kings of the *British* nation, they were tributary, and had their whole authority depending on that Empire; which, as the same *Tacitus* saith, made it now their custome to have Kings the instruments of servitude: speaking of *Cogodunus*, to whom *Claudius* gave certaine cities in *Brittaine*, with title of King. For now after *Cæsar* had opened the passage, and made tributary so much as he subdued; the rest could not long hold out, against that al-incompassing State of *Rome*: although during the time of the civill wars, and change of government, from a Republique to a Monarchie, this Countrey lay neglected the space of 20. years: yet, after *Augustus* had settled the soverainty, and possessest all the wide obedience of that Empire; the Princes and Cities of *Brittaine* (feareing to be enforced) came in of their own accord, with their gifts and tributes, and the rather, for that as yet, they had found no other weight of subjection, than a tollerable tribute, which it seemed, they were content to endure with the rest of their neighbours. But after *Augustus* time, when the corruptions of that State, had bred miserable inflammati ons in all parts of the world, the *Brittaines*, what with their owne factions, and those of the *Romane* commandants, remained in an uncertain obedience, till the time of *Claudius* the Emperour; who having much of the fume of glbry, and little fire to rai se it otherwise: cast an especiall eye on this Province, to make it the pompous matter of his triumph. And, to prepare the way, without adventure of himselfe, fore-sends *Publius Ostorius Scarpula*, a great warrier, *Pro-prefetor* into *Brittaine*, where he met with many turbulencies; and a people hardly to be driven, howsoever they might be led: yet as one who well knew his mestier; and how the first events are those which incuse a dauntingnes, or daixing, employed all mea-ses to make his expeditions sodain, and his executions evil. Notwithstanding did *Caradocu* (one of the British Kings) hold these great *Romans* work for nine yeares together, & could not be surprized, till betrayed by his own nation, he was delivered into their hands, & brought to *Rome* captive, with his wife and children, to be the subje^ct of their triumph: wherof notwithstanding the glory was his. But *Claudius* had the honor of taking in the whole Isle of *Brittaine*, to the *Roman* Empire, which though thus won, was not, till a long time after, overcome. For now the *Brittaines* (understanding the misery of their disso-ciation: how their submissio brought but the more oppression) colleague themselves against the *Romanes*, taking their occasion upon the outrages, committed on the person and state of Queen *Voadicia*, widdow of *Prasutagus* king of the *Ireni*, a great Prince, who (at his death) had left *Nero* his heire, & two daughters, hoping thereby to free his house from injury: but it fell out contrary, for no sooner was he dead, but the Kingdome was spoiled by the *Centurions*, his house ransac^kt by slaves, his wife beaten, and his daughters ravished. Besides, the chiefe men of the *Ireni* (as if all the Région had bee-ne given in prey) were rest of their goods, and the Kings kinmen esteemed as

as captives: with which contumely, and feare of greater mischiefe, they conspire with the *Trinobantes* and others (not yet inured to servitude) to resume their libertie. And first set upon the Garrisons of the *Veteran* souldiers (whom they most hated) defeated the ninth legion, whereof they slew all the foot, forced *Cerialis* the Legate and leader to flight, and put to the sword seventy thousand *Romans* and associats, inhabiting their municipall townes, *London, Viro lame, Camolodunum*; before *Suetonius* Governor of the Province could assemble the rest of the dispersed forces, to make head against their Army (consisting of 120000 *Brittaines*) conducted by *Voadicia*, who (with her two daughters, brought into the field to move compassion and revenge) incites them to that noble, and manly worke of liberty: whitch to recover, she protests to hold her self there butias one of the vulgar (without weighing her great honour and birth) resolved either to winne or die. Many of their wives were likewise there, to be spectators and encouragers of their husbands valour; but in the end *Suetonius* got the victory with the slaughter of foure score thousand *Brittaines*; whereupon *Voadicia*, poysons her selfe, and the miserable Countrey with their heavey losse, had also more weights laid upon their servitude. And yet after this, made they many other defections, and bravely struggled with the *Romans*, upon all advantages they could apprehend; but the continual supplies, ever ready from all parts of that mighty Empire, with such, as the *Brittaines* (having no meanes, but their owne swords, in an uncomposed State, laid all open to invasion) spent their bloud in vaine. And in the end growing base with their fortune (as losing their vertue with their liberty) became utterly quailed, and miserably held downe to subjection, by the powerfull hand of fourteene Garrisons, disposted in severall limits of the Land, with their companies, consisting of sundry strange nations, computated in all to be 52. thousand foot, & 300. horse; besides 37. companies containing 29. thousand foot, and 1300 horse; which continually guarded the North parts, where that which is now *Scotland*, and obeyed not the *Romane* Emperour, was excluded from the rest with a wall or trench, first raised by *Agricola*, after reedified by *Adrian, Severus*, and others. And in this fort continued the state of *Brittaine* whilst the *Romans* held it; enduring all the calamities that a dejected nation could doe under the domination of strangers proud, greedy, and cruell: Who not onely content by all tyra-nicall meanes to extort their substance, but also constrained their bodies to serve under thirr ensignes; when or wheresoever their quarrellous ambition would expose them. And besides, they being at the will of their Rulers in their obedience, they were forced to follow them also in their rebellions. For after the election of the Emperours grew to be commonly made by the Armies, many possessing those mighty *Roman* forces here, were proclaimed *Cæsars*; and put for the whole Empire. As first *Carausius*, and after him *Alethus*, whom *Constantius* (the associate of *Maximianus* in the Empire), at this first comming into *Brittaine*, by *Asclapiodorus* the *Prefectorian* Prefect vanquished; with all siclus tooke part with him. After that the *Galldonians*, and *Picts* from the North parts made irruption into the State, and much afflicted the *Brittaines*; whom to represse, *Constantius* (the sole Emperour of the West) came; he secondeing his sonne *Constantine* (a little before his death) repaired out of *Illyria*, escaping a train laid for him by *Galerius* Emperour of the East, with whom he was in the war against the *Sarmatians*; when his father came first into *Brittaine* against *Alethus*. And he was he first saluted Emperour, for which it seemes he much esteemed the Country,

*Camolodunum
now Maldon.*

*De notitia urp.
Imper. Panciro-
toul.*

*The misery of
the Brittaines
under the Ro-
manes.*

De Notitia u
triisq; Imper.

Country, as that they gave birth to his dignity. And reordering the government therof (for a future securitie) divides it into five Provinces to be ruled by one vice-gerent, five Rectors, two Consulars, and three Presidents. After whose time, we have no certaine and apparent marke to direct us which way the State went, till the reigne of *Valentinian* the elder, who sends *Theodosius*. (the father of him who was after Emperor of that time) into Britain against the irruption of the *Picts*, *Attacotti*, *Scoti*, *Saxons* & *Franci*; which of all sides invaded and spoiled the Countrey: and after *Theodosius* had by the forces of the *Bastari*, and *Heruli* cleared it, *Civili* was sent to governe the Province, and *Dalcitius* the Army: men of faire names for good offices.

The people of
Brtaaine con-
sumed in the
factions of the
Emperours.

In these warres with *Theodosius* was one *Maximus*, a man borne in *Spaine*, but of *Roman* education, who after, in the time of the younger *Valentinian*, having the charge of the Army, was here proclaimed *Cesar*, and to subver the present Emperor, transports the whole power of *Brittaine*: and first in his way subdues *Gaule*, and there furnishes every place of defence with *British* soldiers: and they say, peopled the whole Countrey of *Armorica* (now called *Brittaine* in *France*) with the same nation: which yet retaines their language, in some kind to this day. And having spred one Arme to *Spain*, the other to *Germany*, embraced so great a part of the Empire, as he drove *Valentinian* to seek ayde of *Theodosius*, Emperor of the East, after the vanquishment and death of his brother *Gratianus* at *Zyone*; and by this immoderate vent, both of the Garrisons, and the ablest people of the Land, he dis-furished and left it inthat impotencie, as it never recovered like power againe. All those great forces he took with him, either were left in *Gaule*, or perished with him at *Aquileia*, where he was overthownde by *Valentinian*.

permitted with him at Aquitaine, where he was overthrown by Valentinian.
And yet againe in the time of Honorius the Emperour, the Colony of the
Veteran soouldiers fearing the invasion of the Vandales, made another defe-
ction, and tumultuarily proclaimed Emperour, one Marcus, whom shortly
after they slue ; then Gratianus, who likewise within fourre monthes being
murthured, they gave the title to one Constantine; not so much for his me-
rite, as the omination of his name. This Constantine taking the same course
that Maximus did, whatsoever strength was left, or lately in any sort recov-
ered, he empited it wholy, and made himselfe of that power, as he subdued
many of the Western Provinces, gave his Son Constans (a Monke) the title of
Augustus, & after many fortunes, & encounters with the forces of Honorius,
became vanquished, and executed at Arles. Where also perished the whole
power he brought out of Brittaine. And so the State (having all the best
strength exhausted, and none, or small supplies from the Romans) lay open
to the rapine, and spoile of their Northerne enemies : who taking the ad-
vantage of this disfurnishement, never left till they had reduced them to ex-
treme miseries : which forced them to implore the aide of Aetius, praefect
of Gaule, under Valentinian the third, and that in so lamentable manner,
(their Embassadors in torne garments, with sand on their heads, to stirre
compassion) as Aetius was moved to send forces to succour them, and caused
a wall to be raised upon the trench (formerly made by Adrian from Sea to
Sea) of eight foote thick, and twelve high, inter-set with Bulwarkes, which
the Roman soouldiers, and a multitude number of Britains (fitter for that work
than warre) with great laboure effected. And so Aetius left them againe once
more freed, and defended from their enemies : advising them from thence-
forth to inure and employ their owne forces without any more expectation
of succour from the Romans, who (over wrought with other busynesse) could

not attend affaires that lay so far off. No sooner had the enemy intelligence
of the departure of these succours, but on they came (notwithstanding this
fortification) battered downe the wall, overthrew the defenders, and har-
rowed the Countrey worse than before. Whereupon, againe, this miserable
people sent to Actius, using these words : *To Actius thrise Consull, she sights
of the Brittains, and after thus complaine : The barbarous enemy beates us to
the Sea, the Sea beates us backe to the enemy : betweene these two kinds of deaths,
we are either murthered, or drowned.* But their implorations prevailed not,
for Actius at that time had enough to do to keepe his own head, and *valen-
tinian* the Empire : which now endur'd the last convulsions of a dying State ;
having all the parts, and Provinces thereof miserably rent, and torn with
the violence of strange Nations. So that this was also in the fate of *Brittaine*
to be first made knowne to perish by, and with the *Roman State* : which ne-
ver suffering the people of the Land to have any use, or knowledge of armes
within their owne Countrey, left them (upon their owne dissolution) naked,
exposed to all that would assaile them.

And so ended the Roman Government in Brittaine, which (from their first invasion by *Julius Cesar* to this *Valentinianus the third*) had continued the space of five hundred yeares. In all which time we finde but these seven Brittish Kings nominated to have reigned : *Theomanius*, *Cunobellinus*, *Guderius*, *Arviragus*, *Marius*, *Coelius*, and lastly *Lucius*, who is crowned with immortall honour, for planting Christian Religion within this Land. All other from *Lucius* to *Vortigern*, (who succeeds this relinquishment) were Roman Governours.

This is briefly so much of peciall note, as I can collect out of the Roman History, concerning the State, and government of Brittaine: finding elsewhere little certainty, and from hence forth (during the short possession of this Land) farre lesse. Wheras Gildas the Brittaine complaines, laying the cause of the barbarisme of their enemies, who had destroyed all their monuments, and memorials of times past. And though himselfe wrote, about fortie yeares after the invasion of the Saxons, and was next these times wee come now to remember, yet hath he left (in his enigmatical passions) so small light thereof, as we discerne very little thereby. Nor have the Brittaines any honour by that antiquitie of his; which over-blacks them with such ugly deformities, as wee can see no part cleare: accusing them to be neither strong in peace, nor faithfull in warre: and universally casts those aspersions on their maners, as if he laboured to inveigh, not to enforme. And though no doubt there was (as ever is) in these periods of States a currency of disorder, & a generall loosenesse of disposition that met with the fulnesse of time; yet were there no doubt, some mixtures of worth, and other notions of that age, wherewith after-times would have beeene much pleased to haue had acquaintance. But it seemes his zeale and passion (in that respect) wider than his charity, tooke up the whole roome of his understanding, to whom the reverence of antiquitie, and his title of *Sapiens* doth now give Sanctuary, and we must not presume to touch him.

Such was the state of Britaine left without Armes, or order ; when *Vortigern* (either by usurpation or faction) became King, and is said to be the author of the first calling in (or employing, being in) the *Saxons* to make good his owne establishment, and the safetie of his Kingdome against the *Picts* and *Scots*. *III*

The Saxons at this time posset the third part of Germany, holding all the Country betwixt the Rivers Rhene, and Elve, bounded on the North by

Under the Romanes.

A description
of the state
of the Saxons.

Hengist
and
Horsa the Lea-
ders of the
Saxons.

Their first
plantation.

Vortigern is
deposed.
Vortimer elec-
ted King of
Brittaine.

King Arthur.

by the *Baltique Sea*, and the *Ocean*. On the South by *Silva Hircinia*, and divided by the River *Pisurgis* into *Ostphalia*, and *Westphalia*: governed by an Optimacie of twelve Princes, with an election of a Sovraigne leader for the businesse of warre. This being so spacious, populous and neare a Countrey, well furnishit with shipping (which the *Brittaines* had not,) yeelded ever plentifull meanes to supply the undertakers of this action (which were first two brothers, *Hengist*, and *Horsa*) with all necessary provisions upon every fit occasion. After they had bin here a while as stipendaries, & finding the debilitie of Prince, and people, their number soone increased. And first they had the Isle of *Thanet* allowed them to inhabite, then the whole Country of *Kent* was made over to *Hengist* by trans-action, under covenant, to defend the Land against the *Picts*, and *Scots*. And upon the marriage of *Vortigern* with the Daughter, or Neece of *Hengist*, an exceeding beautifull Lady, (brought over of purpose to worke on the dottage of a dissolute Prince) larger priviledges were granted: so that by this alliance, and the fertilitie of the Land, were drawn in so many of this populous, and military nation, that *Kent* in short time grew too narrow for them, and *Hengist* (to distend their power into other parts) advised *Vortigern* to plant a Colony of them in the North beyond *Humber*, to be a continuall guard against all invasions that way. Which being granted, he sends for *Otha* his brother, and sonne *Ebusa*, with great supplies out of *Saxony* to furnish that designe. And so came the *Saxons* to have first domination in *Kent*, and *Northumberland*, which contained all the Countrey from *Humber* to *Scotland*.

And now became they of servants, masters, to contemne their entertainours, and commit many insolencies. Whereupon the *British Nobility* combine themselves, depole *Vortigern* (the Author of this improvident admission) and elect *Vortimer* his sonne, a Prince of great worth, who (whilst he lived, which was not long) gave them many fierce encounters: but all prevailed not, for the *Saxons* (being possest of the principall gate of the Land, lying open on their owne Country to relieve all supplies without resistance) had the advantage to weare them out of all in the end. And besides, forces, they are said to have used treachery (in murthering three hundred of the *British Nobility*) at an assembly of peace at *Amesbury*, where they tooke their King prisoner, and would not release him, but upon the grant of three Provinces more. Also the long life of *Hengist* (a politique Leader) of almost fortie years continuance, made much for the settling here of their estate: which yet they could not effect, but with much travell, and effusion of blood. For the *Brittaines* (now made martiall by long practise and battles) grew in the end so enraged, to see their Countrey so surprized from under their feete, as they sold the inheritance thereof at a very deare rate. Wherein we must attribute much to the worthines of their Leaders (whence the spirie of a people is raised) who in these their greatest actions were especially *Ambrosius* the last of the *Romans*, and *Arthur* the noblest of the *Brittaines*: A man in force and courage above man, and worthy to have beene a subject of truth to posterity, and not of fictions. Legendarie Writers have made him; for whilst he stood, he bare up the sinking State of his Country, and is said to have encountered the *Saxons* in twelve set battailes: wherein he had either victory, or equall revenge. In the end himselfe overthrowne by treason, the best men consumed in the warres, and the rest unable to resist, fled into the mountaines, and remote deserts of the West parts of the Isle, and left all to the invaders, daily growing more and more upon them.

For many principall men of *Saxony* (seeing the happy successes, and plan-
tation

Under the Romanes.

tation here of *Hengist*) entred likewise on diverse coasts to get for themselves, with such multitudes of people, as the *Brittaines* making head in one place were assaulted in another, and every where overwhelmed, with new increasing numbers.

For after *Hengist* had obtained the Dominion of *Kent* (which from him became to be a kinglydome) and *Otha*, and *Ebusa* possest of the North-countrics from *Humber* to *Scotland*; *Ella*, and his sonnes conquered the South-East parts, and began the kingdome of the *South Saxons*, containing *Suffex*, and part of *Surrey*. Then *Cerdic*, and his sonnes landed at *Portsmouth*, invadeth the South, and West parts, and began the kingdome of the *West Saxons*, which after contained the Countys of *Hampshire*, *Barkshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Dorcestshire*, *Sommersesbire*, and *Devonshire*. And about the same time, *Vffa* invaded the North-East parts, and beganne the Kingdome of the *East Angles*, containing *Northfolke*, *Suffolke*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the Isle of *Ely*. *Erkenwin* began the Kingdome of the *East Saxons*, containing *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and a part of *Hartsfordshire*.

Having thus in a (manner) surrounded the best of the whole state of *Brittaine*; they after invaded the inner, and middle part. And *Crida* began the Kingdome of *Merona-land*, or middle Angles, containing *Lincolnshire*, *North-hamptonshire*, *Huntingdonshire*, *Rutlandshire*, *Bedford*, *Buckingham*, *Oxfordshire*, *Cheshire*, *Derbie*, *Nottingham*, and *Staffordshire*, with parts of the shires of *Hereford*, and *Hartford*: *Warwicke*, *Shropshire*, *Lancaster*, and *Glocestershire*.

And with all these Princes, and Leaders, before they could establish their Dominions, the *Brittaines* so desperately grappled, as plane they could not, but upon destruction and desolation of the whole Country, whereof in the end they extinguished both the Religion, Lawes, Language, and all, with the people and name of *Brittaine*. Which having beene so long a Province of great honouer, and benefit to the *Roman Empire*, could not but partake of the magnificence of their goodly structures, Thermes, Aquaducts, High-wayes, and all other their ornaments of delight, ease, and greatness: all which came to be so utterly razed, and confounded by the *Saxons*, as there is not left standing so much as the ruines to point us where they were: for they being a people of a rough breeding that would not be taken with these delicacies of life, seemed to care for no other monuments but of earth, and as borne in the field, would build their fortunes onely there. Witnesse so many Intrenchments, Mounts, and *Borroughs* raised for tombes, and defences upon the wilde champaigns, and eminent Hills of this Isle, remaining yet as scatches made on the whole face of our Countrey, to shew the hard labour our Progenitors endured to get it for us.

Which generall subversion of a State is very seldoime seene: Invasion, and devastation of Provinces have often beene made, but in such sort as they continued, or recovered, with some commixtion of their own with the generation of the invaders. But in this, by reason of the vicinage, and innumerable populacie of that Nation (transporting hither both sexes) the incompatibilitie of Paganisme, and Christianitie, with the immense blood-shed possest all. The conquest made by the *Romanes*, was not to extirpate the Natives, but to master them. The *Danes*, which afterward invaded the *Saxons*, made onely at the first depredations on the coast, and therewith for a time contented themselves. When they grew to have further interest, they fought not the subversion, but a community, and in the end a Sovereignty of

The severall
entries made
by the *saxons*.

The first Plantation of the Saxons.

The absolute subversion of Britain, con-curred with the generall mutation of other States of the world.

Lombardie so called of the Longbeards

of the State, matching with the women they here found, bringing few of their owne with them. The Normans dealt the like with the Province of *Nuestria* in *France*, who also after they had the Dominion, and what the victory would yeeld them in *England*, were content to suffer the people here to have their being, intermatched with them, and so grew in short space into their bodie. But this was an absolute subversion, and concurred with the universall mutation, which about that time happened in all these parts of the world; whereof, there was no one Country or Province but changed bounds, inhabitants, customes, language, and in a maner, all their names.

For upon the breaking up of the *Romane Empire* (first devided into two, and then by faction disioynted in each part) employing the forces of many strange Nations to fortifie their sides, were made so wide ruptures in the North, and North-east bounds of that Empire, as there burst out infinite streames of strange people that over-ran, and laid open the world againe to libertie, other formes, and limits of State: whereupon followed all these transmigrations, and shiftings of people from one Country to another. The French and Burgogns dispossess the *Gaules*, and gave the name of *France*, and *Burgogne* to their Province. The *Gaules* transpanted themselves on some coasts of *Spaine*, where they could finde, or make thir habitation: and of them had *Gallicia* and *Portugall* their name. The *Huns* and *Auri* subdued *Pannonia*, and thereto gave the name of *Hungary*. The *Longbeards*, a people of *Germany*, bordered upon the *Saxons*, entred *Italy*, got the greatest part thereof, and left there their name to a principall Province, remaining to this day. The *Gothes* and *Vandales*, miserably afflicted the rest, saft *Rome*, and after subdued, peopled, and possest *Spaine*. So that it was not in the fate of *Brittaine* alone to be undone, but to perish, almost, with the generall dissolution of other States, which happned about the same age.

Wherefore, we are now here to begin with a new Body of people, with a new State, and government of this Land, which retained nothing of the former, nor held other memory but that of the dissolution thereof: where scarce a Citie, Dwelling, River, Hill, or Mountaine, but changed names. *Brittaine* it selfe was now no more *Brittaine*, but *New Saxonie*, and shortly after, either of the *Angles* (the greatest people of the invaders) or of *Hengist*, called *Engist Land*, or *England*. The distance made by the rage of warre, lay so wide betweene the conquering and the conquered people, that nothing either of Lawes, Rites, and Customes, came to passe over unto us from the *Brittaines*: nor had our Ancestors any thing from them, but their Country: which they first devided into eight Kingdomes: all which continued to the last extirmination of the *Brittaines* under *Caretius* their King, with whom they were driven over *Seaverne*, 136. yeares after the first enter-tainment of *Hengist*. And soone after, the *Saxons*, encroching upon each ther parts, or States, (which never held certaine bounds) and the stronger usurping upon their weaker neighbours, reduced them to seven Kingdomes; that of the *Northumbrians*, being made one of two: and then to sixe (the *West Saxons* taking in the Kingdome of *Sussex* to their dominion.) And so it continued about 250. yeares.

At the first, by the space of 150. yeares they were meerely governed by their owne Lawes, without mixture of any other. But after *Augustine* the Monke, sent with forty others by Pope *Gregory*, had converted *Aethelbert*, King of *Kent*, and some other, they all shortly after received the Christian faith, and had their Lawes and Rites ordered according to Ecclesiasticall constitutions. Many of their Kings, when their sterne asperitie grew mol-

lified

The Saxons divide this Land.

lified by humilitie of the Religion, began to raise presently so many and great monuments of their pietie, in all parts of the Land, as if they strived who should exceede therein, and had no other glory: Divers of them renounced their temporall dignities for spirituall solitude, and became Monkes: as *Aethelred*, and *Kinred*, Kings of *Mercia-land*; *Offa*, King of the *East Saxons*; *Kadwalla* and *Ina*, Kings of the *West Saxons*; *Eadbert* King of *Northumbrians*, &c.

At length the Kingdomes of *Mercia-land*, and *West Saxe*, so farre over-grew the others in power, as betweene them two it lay, who should have all. For *Ina*, a martiall, wise, and religious Prince, governing the *West Saxons*, first advanced that Kingdome to a preheminencie, and did mitch to have possibility to have swallowed up both the *West Saxons*, and all the rest of the Kingdomes. For whilst he lived, which was in the time of *Carolus Mag-nus*, (with whom he held league and amity) he was esteemed as the espe-ciall King of the Land. But the many wrongs he did, and the murthe he com-mitted in his house upon *Aethelbert* King of the *East Angles*, comming to him under publique faith, and a Suiter to his Daughter, were justly reven-ged upon his posterity, which after him declining, in the end lost all. For *Egbert*, descended from *Inegild*, the brother of *Ina*, attaining the Kingdome of the *West Saxons*, began the way to bring all the rest into subjection. And being a Prince, who (from a private fortune, wherein he liyed below, with, and not above other men) had learned sufferance and moderation; and by the estate of an exiles experience, grew to have great advantage over the time, and others borne fortunes, and rose by these meanes.

Ina, his great Uncle, renouncing the world, with his Kingdome, and dy-ing without issue, left the succession imbroiled, and out of the direct roiall lyne as he found it. So that those fourte Kings of the *West Saxons*, who severally succeeded him; *Ethelard*, *Sigibert*, *Kenulph* and *Breric*, were rather Kings by election, and their owne power, than by right of descent. And *Breric*, knowing the weakenesse of his title, and the muche promissing forward, etized to have him made away; which hee perceiving, fled first to *Offa*, King of *Mercia-land*, where finding little security, in regard *Breric* had (to strength himselfe) married the daughter of the King, he escaped into *France*, and there remained till the death of *Breric*, and then returning, obtaines that Kingdome of the *West Saxons*; subdues *Cornwall*, inhabited by the *Brittaines*; and after sets upon *Bernulph*, newly invested in the kingdome of *Merchaeland*; a State (by the rupture of the Royall line) likewise growne tottering. For *Egfrith*, the sonne of *Offa*, enjoyed but fourte impreches, the inheritance of his fathers iurritany: whereby that Kingdome descended collaterally to *Kenulph*, who left it to *Kenelme* a childe, after murthered by his sister *Quinred*. *Oeulph*, brother to *Kenulph*, succeeding, after his first yeares reigne was expell by *Bernulph*, and *Bernulph* by *Egbert*, who made that Kingdome tributarie to the *West Saxons*, as hee did after that of the South; and *East Saxons*, with the Kingdome of *Northumberland*. And by this meanes (in a manner) attained to a soveraignty of the whole Country. But the *Danes* imbroiling his peace in the end of his reigne, held him backe from enjoying such a fulnesse of power, as that we may account him the ab-solute Monarch of the Kingdome; nor yet any of his successors, so long as the *Danes* continued unsubjected; For they having first made irruptions in-to the State, in the reigne of the late King *Breric* (his predecessor) ever af-ter

Egbert obtained the king-dome, which by him was named Eng-land.

Anno
802.

The reduction of severall Principalities to a Kingdome.

The description
of the
Danes.

ter held a part thereof, and afflicted the whole, till they had attained the absolute soveraignty to themselves.

The *Danes* were a people of *Germany*, next neighbours to the *Saxons*, and of language and manners little different : Possessing besides *Cimbria* *Chersonesus* (now called *Denmarke*) all the Isles adjacent in the *Baltique Sea*, and sometimes the Kingdome of *Norway*: A mighty, rough, and martiall Nation ; strong in shipping, through their exercize of Piracy, and numerous in people for all suppliments. Who perceiving here the happy successe, and plantation of the *Saxons*, were drawne with desire and emulation, likewise, to put in for a part ; the coast lying open to invasion, and the many divisions of the Land, with the discord of Princes, making them an easie way thereto. So that in a manner, as soone as the *Saxons* had ended their travelles with the *Brittains*, and drew to settling of a Monarchy, the *Danes*, as if ordained to revenge their slaughterers, began to assault the with the like afflictions. The long, the many, and horrible encounters between these two fierce Nations, with the bloudshed, and infinite spoiles committed in every part of the Land, are of so disordered and troublous memory, that what with their asperous name, together with the confusion of place, times, and persons, intricately delivered, is yet a warre to the Reader to over-looke them. And therefore to favour mine owne paines and his, who shall get little profit thereby, I passe them over.

After the death of *Egbert*, *Aethelwolph*, his sonne succeeded in the State, with the title of King of the West *Saxons* onely, and was a Prince more addicted to devotion than action : as may be seene by his donation of the tenth part of his Kingdome (with exemption of all regall service) for the service of God : besides an annuitie of 3. hundred markes, to be bestowed in pious uses at *Rome* ; whither he went twise in person, with his yongest son *Alfred*, whom he especially loved ; and whom (Pop. *Leo* the fourth) annoyncted a King, at eleven yeares of age, as if divining of his future fortune.

Vpon his last journey, and whole yeare's stay at *Rome* ; *Aethelbald*, his eldest sonne, combin'd with the Nobility of the West *Saxons*, to keepe him out, and deprive him utterly of his government, and wroght so, as notwithstanding the great love his people bare him, hee was brought to yeeld up the Kingdome of the West *Saxons*, to *Aethelbald*, and retaine onely the Kingdome of the East Angles, (a State of farre lesse dignity) to himselfe. After which, reigning but two yeares, *Aethelbald* succeeded in the whole, & with great infamy, marrying his fathers widdow, *Judith*, daughter to *Charles le Chauve*, King of *France*, enjoyed it but two yeares and a halfe ; when *Aethelred*, the second sonne of *Aethelwolph*, entred to the government, which he held five yeares in continuall conflict with the *Danes*. After whom,

L F R E D, the mirrour of Princes (made a King before he had a Kingdome) at two and twentie yeares of his age (and in a yere wherein eight severall batailles had beene given to the *Danes* by the *Saxons*) began his troublous reigne, wherein he was perpetually in warre, either against his enemies, or else against vices.

First, after a great danger to lose all, he was forced to yeeld up a part of the Kingdome (which was that of the East Angles, and *Northumberland*) to *Guthrum*, leader of the *Danes*, whom (upon his baptismation) hee made his confederate, and owner of that by right, which before hee usurped by violence,

And notwithstanding all the continual, and intricate toyle hee endured amidst the clattering and horrour of armes, he performed all noble actions

Anno

872.

Alfred.

Alfred.

of peace, collecting first the Lawes of his Predecessors, and other the Kings of the *Saxons* (as those of *Offa*, King of *Mercia-land*, and *Aethelbert* the first Christian English King) of which, by the grave advice and consent of his States assembled, he makes choise of the fittest, abrogates those of no use, and addes other, according to the necessity of the time.

And for that the wildnesse of warre, by reason of these perpetual conflicts with strangers, had so let out the people of the Land to unlawfull riots, and rapine, that no man could travell without convoy : he ordained the division of Shires, Hundreds, and Tithings, that every English man (now the generall name for all the *Saxons*) living legally, might be of a certayne Hundred, or Tithing, out of which, he was not to remove without securite : and out of which, if he were accused of any crime, he was likewise to produce sureties for his behaviour ; which if he could not finde, he was to endure the punishment of the Law. If any malefactor before, or after he had put in suretie escaped, all the Tithing, or Hundred were fined to the King, by which meanes he secured Travellers, and the peace of his Countrey.

The opinion he had of learning made him often complaine the want thereto, imputing it amongst his greatest misfortunes to have beene bred without it, & to have his Kingdome so utterly destitute of learned men, as it was, through the long continuance of this barbarous warre : which made him send out for such, as were any way famous for letters, and having gotten them, he both highly preferred them, and also (as they doe, who know not too much themselves) held them in great veneration : Rarenesse then, setting a higher price on meaner parts, than after plenty did on more perfections. *Grimbald*, and *Scotus*, he drew out of *France* : *Affer* (who wrote his life) out of *Wales*, other from other parts : he was the first lettered Prince we had in *England*, by whose means and incouragements publique Schooles had here, either their reviving or beginning.

Those wants of his owne, made him take a greater care for the education of his sonnes, with whom were bred under most diligent masters almost all the children of the Nobility within his Kingdome.

All his owne time he could cleare from other busynesse, he bestowed in study, and did himselfe, and caused others to translate many things into the vulgar tonge, which he laboured (it seemes) much to adorne ; and especially affected the *Saxons* meeters, whereby to glorifie that of a King, he attained the title of a Poet.

The natural day, consisting of 24. houres, he cast into three parts : whereof eight he spent in prayer, study, and writing ; eight in the service of his body ; and eight in the affaires of his State. Which spaces (having then no other engine for it) he measured by a great waxe light, devided into so many parts, receiving notice by the Keeper thereof, as the severall houres passed in the burning.

With as faire an order did he proportion his revenues, equalling his liberalities to all his other expences, whereof to make the current run more certaine, hee tooke a precise notice of them, and made a survay of the Kingdome, and had all the particulars of his Estate registred in a booke, which he kept in his Treasury at *Winchester*. And within this circumference of order, he held him in that irregularity of fortune, with a weake disposition of body, and reigned 27. yeares, leaving his sonne *Edward*, a worthy successor to maintaine the line of Noblenesse thus begun by him.

EDWARD

King Alfred
first made col-
lection of the
Saxon Lawes.

The first diui-
sion of the land
into Shires,
Hundreds and
Tithings.

Publique
Schools first
erected.

West. Wefm.

The first sur-
vey of the
Kingdome.

Anno
900.
Edwardus Senior.

EDWARD, though he were far inferior to him in learning, went much beyond him in power: for he had all the Kingdome of Mercia-land in possession, whereof Alfred but had the homage, and as some write, held sovereignty over the East Angles, and Northumbrians: though we finde (in the joyn Lawes that he, and Guthrum made together) they held the same confederation fore concluded by Alfred. He also subdued the Britanes in Wales: fortified, and furnished with Garrisons divers townes in England that lay fit to prevent the incursions of the Danes: and was all his reigne of 23 years in continuall action, and ever before hand with fortune. And surely his father, he, and many that succeeded during this Danicque warre, though they lost their ease, wonne much glory and renoume. For this affliction held them so in, as having little out-lets, or leisure for ease, and luxury; they were made the more pious, just, and careful in their government: otherwise it had beeне impossible to have held out against the Danes, as they did, being a people of that power, and undantable stomacke, as no fortunck could deterre, or make to give over their hold. And the imbecility of some unactive Prince, at that time had beene enough to have let them quite into the whole: which may be the cause, that in the succession of some of these Kings, were certaine ruptures made out of course, in respect of their ablenesse. As first, after the death of this renowned King Edward Senior, his Son

Anno
924.
*Athelstan's
Bastard pre-
ferred before
the lawfull
sonne.*

THE LSTAN of full yeares, and spirit, was (notwithstanding the bracke in his birth) preferred before his legitimate son Edmond under age: Nor did Athelstan disappoint the Kingdome in this worke, but performed all noble parts of Religion, Justice, and Magnanimitie, and after sixteene years reigne died without issue.

Anno
940.
Edmond.

MOND his brother succeeded him: A Prince likelic to have equalled the worth of his Predecessors, had he not untimely perished by the hand of a base Out-law in his owne house, at a festivall, amidst his people that dearely loved, and honoured him, And though he left two Sonnes, yet was

Anno
950.
*Edred or El-
red.
Edwin.*

RED his brother preferred to the Kingdome before them: who (making no variation from the line of Vertue continued by his Ancestors) was held perpetually in worke by the Danes during the whole time of his reigne, which was of ten years.

Anno
959.
Edgar.

DWIN his Nephew, the eldest son of Edmond, succeeded him (an irregular youth) who interrupting the course of goodnessse, lived dissolutely, and died wretchedly. Otherwise had Edgar (the other son of Edmond) continued that rare succession of good Princes, without the interposition of any ill, which is not in the Fate of a Kingdome.

**Edgar pro-
vides for ship-
ping.**

GAR, though he were but sixteene yeares of age, yet capeable of counsell, was by the grave advice of his Bishops (who in that time of zeale held especially the raines on the hearts, and affections of men) put, and directed in the way of goodnessse, and became a most heroicall Prince.

Amongst other his excellent actions of government, he provided a mighty Navy to secure his coasts from invasion, which now he found (though late) was the only meane to keepe out those miseries from within, that thus lamentably afflixed the Land ever before negligent, or not injured to Sea-affaires. For when the Romans first subdued the same, there was no shipping but a few small vessels made of wicker, and covered with hides: whereby they, and after the Danes (both mighty, as those times gave, in shipping) found that

that easie footing they had. Yet Edgar is said to have provided a strong Navy, about the yeare 840. And Alfred thirty or forty yeares after did the like. But either now dis-used, or consumed by the enemy, Edgar re-edifies, and sets forth a Fleet consisting (as some write) of 160. sail, others a farre greater number: and those he devides, and places in fourte parts of the Realme, making his progresse yearly, with part of his mighty Navy, round about the whole Isle, whereof he assumed the title of King.

And to reduce it to one name, and Monarchie, he was intituled King of all Albion, as testifies his Charter granted to the Abby of Malmesbury, in these words: *Ego Edgarus totius Albionis Basilius, nec non Maritimorum, seu insulariorum Regum circum habitantium, &c.* For he having first of all other made peace with the Danes, and granted them quiet co-habitation through all his Dominions; had the Sovereignty over them: And Kenneth, King of Scors did him homage, whether for Cumberland, and Westmerland given to that Countee by King Edmond his father; or for his whole Kingdome; I cannot say. And five Kings of Wales did the like for their Countrey, and came all to his Court at Cardife.

So that he seemes the first, and most absolute Monarch of this Land, that hitherto we finde: The generall peace that held all his time, honoured his name with the Title of Pacificus; and rendred his Kingdome (never before acquainted with the glory of quietnesse) very flourishing. But as if the same had beeне given to shew, and not to use (like a short calme betwixt stormes) it lasted but little beyond his reigne of sixteene years: being too short to close the desverred joints of a commixed Kingdome, which was onely, to have beeне the work of time; and that none of these late Princes (who were best like to have advanced, and confirmed the State of a Monarchie) were ordain'd to have. But all (as if things would another way) were put off from their ends, by their untimely deaths: as was this glorious young Prince, in the two and thirtieth yeare of his age: leaving his sonne Edward, a childe, to undergoe the miseries of non-age, to be made a sacrifice for ambition, and a Saint by persecution, through the hand of a step-mother, who to advance her own sonne Ethelred, brake in over the bounds of Nature and right, to make his way; and is said, her selfe to have murthered him, coming to her house, estray'd, in hunting, and discompanied, in the Isle of Purbeck. His brother Edgar, and his sonne Edward, were both banish'd him, and his sonne Edward, was sent to the court of France, to be brought up by the Duke of Normandy, and his sonne Edward, was sent to the court of the King of Scotland, to be brought up by the King of Scotland.

Ethelred.

ETHELRED, as if ill set, prospered not on this ground, the entrance to whose reigne was bloud, the middle, miserie; and the end, confusion. They write, Saint Dunstan Preaching at his Coronation, prophetically (as he told him) of the calamities that would follow this transgression: Saying *For that thou hast aspired to the Crown, by the death of thy brother, murthered by thy mother: Thus falleth the Word: The sword shall never depart from thy house, raging against thee all the dayes of thy life, slaying those of thy seede, till the Kingdome be transferred to another, who of flesh and language, the people shall not know: Nor shall thy sinne, nor the sinne of thy ignominious mother, with her Counsellors be expiated, but by long avengement.* And this whether countur'd or not was ratified in the event. For either this unjust disordering the succession, or the concur- rentie of hidden causes meeting with it, so wrought, as this late begun Monarchy fell quite asunder, and begat the occasion of two Conquests by for- eigne Nations, within the space of fiftie yeares.

*A most usefull
progesse.*

*He reigned
16. years.*

Saint Edward.

Anno
975.

Anno
978.

*Two conquests
of this King-
dome in fiftie
yeares.*

For the Danes, having now beeene so long inmates with the English, dis-
spread over all parts by intermarrying with them, and multiplying with the
late peace and Confederations, had their party (though not their rule) greater
than ever: so that this oportunitie, of a yong and unctled Prince, in a new
and brangling State, drew over such multitudes of other of the same Nation,
as every Coast and part of the Land, were miserably made the open rodes
of spoile and sackage: in such sort, as the State knew not where to make any
certaine head against them; for if encountered in one place, they assailed ano-
ther, and had so sure intelligence what, and where all preparations were
raised, as nothing could be effected availeable to quale them; Where-
upon Ethelred, in the end, was faine, seeing he could not prevale with
the sword, to assaile them with money, and bought a peace for 10900.
pounds: which God wot, proued after a very deere pennis-worth to the
common wealth, shewing the seller thereof, how much was in his power,
and the buyer, as how bad a rate his necessity was to be served; and yet no
sure of his bargaine, longer than the Contractor would. Who having found
the benefite of this market, raised the price thereof almost every yare. And
yet had not Ethelred what he paid for the Land in one part or other, never
free from spoile and invasion: but rather the more now opprest, both by the
warre, and this taxation. Which was the first we finde in our Annales, laid
upon the Kingdome, and with heavie grievance raised in a proore distressed
State, continuing many ages after the peccation was extint: And in the end
(though in another name), became the usual suplument, in the dangers of
the Kingdome, and the occasions of Princes.

And hereby Esb[er]ed borth enlarged the meanes, and desire of the enemy, so that at length saime Swynf[red], King of Denmarke, and Aulfe, King of Norway, in person, as it likewise receivs him, for committing outrage; and were both repurged with great humpnes, and Aulfe of a milder disposition, with Baptisme. The calamities from abroad, were made more, by the disloyalites at home, faith and respect (being scldome found safe in lost fortunes) held not in most of the principall men imployed in the defence. *Aelfricke*, Admirall of the Navie, is said to have given intelligence of all Sea preparations, and delappoynced that workes. The Earles *Fran*, *Eriþigis*, *Cœlif*, and *Turhile*, descended of *Dafydd* progeay, and of greatest command, deceived the Armies by Land, and were the authors of discouragement to the people they led. *Edric*, Earle of *Marc-land*, after them made Generall of the Kings forces, is branded with everlasting ignominy, and the title of *Fafne*, for his barbarous disloyalty, frustrating all attemptys wherein hee was imployed.

Was he not a Noble man, for his misdemeanour outlawd, made depredations
on the coastes with twenty ships, & was the cause that four score & ten shalts to
take him, were utterly consumed. This defecction of the Nobility, how-
ever it might be by their owne discontent, simulation, corruption, or affe-
ction; is laid to the pride of Isabella, whom yet we finde more unfortunate
than weake, howsover they haue for his marke, and neglected no occasion
to make resistance and preparations against all events, bringing lastyn his af-
fares to the very point of dispatch, and yet put by, at instant from all, as
if nothing went with him, but his will to doe worthily: which howsover it
were, (besides the misse to lose) he must have (that which accompanies in-
felicity). Blame and Reproch. Though she many and desperate battailes ha-
made, and good constitutions for the government, the provisions to supply
all important occasions, shew, that he was not much behinde the best Princes,
but only in fortune.

The Spoiles
made by the
Dance.

The originall
of Dane gelt,
the first im-
position laide
upon the king
dome, 1320.

150

• 60

By the example of Edgar his Father, he procured a mighty Navie; causing of every three hundred and ten Hide, or Plough-land throughout the Kingdome, a Shippe to be built; and of every eight, a Corflet to be found: Yet all this shipping stood him in little stead, but was either qualit with tempest, consumed with fire by the enemy, or otherwise made unusefull by neglect, or ignorance: whereby the hope and infinite charge of the State were disappointed. Famine, and mortality, the attendants of warre, with strange inundations, wrought likewise their part; as if conspirators of destruction, all concurred to make a dismal season.

Many yeare it was not, ere *Swaine King of Danes*, returned to raise againe new summes, by new afflictions; and tormenting here this poore turmoiled people, more than ever, receives a fee for bloudshed, to the summe of 48000. pounds, grafted in the generall assembly of the States at *London*; and a peace, or rather paction of servitude concluded; with quiet cohabitation, use of like liberties; and a perfect union betweene the two Nations, confirmed by oathes of either part, and hostages delivered of ours.

But this was a breathing time; scarce held out the years: When the occasion of greater mischiefs was given by a universall massacre of the *Danes* suddenly here contrived: and effected by the Kings commandement, upon the suggestion of *Huno*, a great Commander, and a violent Warrier of that time: Vrging the insolencie of the *Danes*, that now grown haughty with this peace, committed many outrages, violating the Wives and Daughters of great men, with many other intollerable disorders.

Such, and so fiddaine was the generall execution of this act, throughout all parts of the Kingdome at one instant, as shewed the concurrence of an inveterate rancor, and incompatibility of these two nations, impossible to be conjoyned: So that neither Temples, Altars, Supplications, nor any band of alliance, were avilable to save them from slaughter. Wherein to incense the more their King, *Gunild*, his sister, a woman of masculine courage, who had a little before received Christendome, a mediator and pledge of the peace, having first her husband and sonne slaine in her sight, rather with a threatening than appaled countenance, met her death, making imprecation for revenge; and foretelling her bloud would, as it did, cost *England* deere.

Soone was the nootice of this enormous act given to *Swaine*, and as soone
armed with rage and power, re-entered he the Kingdome, having now a fai-
rer shew to doe foully, than ever : wrong had made him a right; who had
none before; and the people of the Land, now so forward to maintain their
acts, as commit it, rather were content to give him the possession of their
Country, than that he should winne it : the greatest part of the Kingdome
submitting themselves unto him ; onely the Citle of *London*, which *Ethe-
red* held fortified, made noble resistance till he left them, and conveyed him-
selfe first into the Isle of *Wight*, and after into *Normandy*, whither he had
sent for *Emma* his Queene, with her two sons, *Alfrid*, and *Edward* before,
fro the rage of this tempest. But within two monethis he was recalled home
by the people of *England* upon the death of *Swaine*, who at the point to have
bin crowned King, and had generally taken hostages and oathes of fealty,
died suddenly : leaving his son *Knute* to succeed, & accomplish what he intended.

Elthelred returning was foone furnishit with an Army, sets upon *R'ante in Lindsey*, where he lay with his Fathers shipping, and Hostages, and driveth him to take the seas: wherewith enraged, making about to *Sandwich*, he miserably mangled, and dismembered those hostages, and so sent them home: himself, with the spoiles his father & he had gotten, returned to his countrey,

The massacre
of the Dane
Anno

1002

Gullfins

*Swine wine
England
Electred Ries
into Normandy.*

re' *Spizella* *chrysostoma*

Ethelred re-
sumes.

Knute. Edmond Ironside.

to make greater preparations for the prosecution of his purpose. Ethelred in the meantime, to increase the summe of revengement, with more wrath, at a general assembly at Oxford, caused many of the Danique Nobilitie to be murthered. Among which were Sigifirth, and Morchar, Earles of Northum. betwixt whom the false Edric (who had a hand on each side for mischiefe) inviting to his lodging, under pretence of feasting, barbarously caused to be slaine: their followers, after they had so long as they could desperately defended themselves and their masters, fled into a Church, where they were with the same brunt. Knute, armed with the greatest of his owne and neighbours powers made his confederates, landed againe, within the yeare, at Sandwich, and without resistance, had all the West parts rendred unto him, with pledges of their obedience, and furnishment with horse and armour. Here the false Edric leaves his Liege-lord, and yeelds up forty ships, and his perjur'd Faith to Knute. Ethelred, languishing in minde and body, Edmond his sonne, surnamed Ironside (to oppose youth to youth) was imployed against this rabious invadour. A Prince worthy of a better time, and had he found Faith, had made it so, and delivered his Country at that tyme, from the worst of miseries, the conquest by strangers.

Knute. Edmond Ironside.

ENTHUSIASM now upon the death of Ethelred (whose 37 years reigne, shewes that infelicity shall have time too much, and happiness too little.) Knute was by most of the Clergy and Nobility chosen King: oglely the city of London, with some of the Nobility thereabout, made election of Edmond, and furnished him with that power, as thereby, with the courageous ardour of his youth (which commonly is most in the first attempts,) hee had the better in three imminent battels, within three moneths, and had likewise obtained the fourth at Effenden (likely to have beone the last with the Danes) but that the disloyall Edric (late renouncing his new Lord) seeing Edmonds part in possiblitiy to preuale, againe betraide his truth, and withdrew himselfe, and the charge he had, to the enemy. This farrall battell lost England: here perished the best flower of honour it then had: Here amongst the rest was slaine, Wilki, an Earle of Essex, of ever memorable worth, who had long stood up for the Kingdome, and in the time of Swaine, was the first that shewed that there was hope and possibility to quale the enemy, had there beene an union in loyalty.

Edmond Ironside sonne to Ethelred, by his first wife Eadwige.

Anno

1016.

Edmonds single combat with Knute.

Peace concluded.

From this bloody worke, Edmond escapes to Gloucester, to recollect new forces; nor was he so forsaken with this fortune, but he soone recovered another army, to re-assaile the enemy, that might be idle upon this victory. But Knute as provident in the prosecution of his busynesse, as fortunate therein, makes after: Here when both Armies were at the point to encounter, a motion of peace was propounded: Some say the two Kings, by single combat consented to decide their fortunes, and the over-commer to take all: and that (in an Isle of the River Severne, their Armies, on either shore, spectators of the act) they tried the mastery for the prize of a Kingdome. After long and equall fight, finding each other worth, they cast away their weapons, embrased, and concluded the peace. But howsoever, it seemes (both sides tied with the misery of a consuming warre, never like to be ended, but by the utter extirpation of the one, and the dangers of the other, and incertainty of the future) were easily persuaded to imbrace a present agreement,

Knute.

ment, which was made, by parting England betwixt them two, and confirmed by Oath and Sacrament: putting on each others Apparel, and Armies, as a ceremony to express the aardonement of their mindes; as if they made trans-action of their persons each to the other. Knute became Edmond, and Edmond Knute. A fatal exchange, for so free and magnanimous a Prince as Edmond, who indeed, was now no more himselfe; and being but halfe a King, was in so few dayes after, none: as makes this peace shew fouler than warre: for that arm'd him for life, this exposed him naked to death, which was shortly after treacherously given him at Oxford; some say, by the son of Edric (as if to shew he would be the heire of his fathet also in Treason) whereby both the hope, and the other halfe of England were utterly lost, as ceterminable with his reigne; which (with all wee have else of his magnanimous actions) tooke up scarce the circuit of one whole yeare: and yet had that bee ne space enough for glory (whose measure is to be taken rather by the profounditie, than the length, which seldom holds long and even,) could he have had that cleere: And better for his renoume, to have died at the battell of Essenden with England, than condescended to have made it halfe Denmark.

*Eng'land di-
vided betwene
them.*

*The death of
King Edmond
Ironside at
Oxford.*

Knute.

Anno

1018.

*Knute the first
Danique King.*



VE by this meanes, Knute attained the absolute dominion of the whole Kingdome; which hee governed with better Justice then he got it, conforming his native roughnesse, to a more ci-vill, and regular fashion of life: and to have England see, that now he was hers; he sends away his Navy, and stipendary souldiers home to their countries, and puts himselfe wholly upon this people, taking th' way of mildnesse a better means for his establishment, than force: but the Land paid for the remuneration of his people, and this evacuation of strangers, 83000 pounds of silver, which it rather consented to do at once, than to have them a daily burthen, to pester the State for ever.

At his first comming to the Crowne, he sought to rid himselfe, as well of his friends, as of thole that might prove his enemies. Edric, who came first to salute him sole King of England (as if to tell, that he made him so) he cayled his head to be set upon the highest part of the Tower of London; therein performing his promise, of advancing him aboue any Lord of the Land, and thereby discharged himselfe of such a debt; which, though he should have paide, would never yet be held fully cleared; giving a generall satisfac-tion thereby to the people, that rejoiced to see Treason so justly rewarded. Like compensation had shortly after, the Earles Turkill, and Brice, who being banished the Land, were executed upon their arrivall in Denmark. But the love, and high opinion of Justice he got in these, were lost againe in those actions, wherein he tooke counsell onely of his feares, for the extirpation of all those of the Royall bloud of England: As of Edwin, and Edward the sonnes of the late King Edmond (to whom appertained the moiety of the Kingdome by contract) and of Edwin his brother; which three, hee sent to be murthered abroad, to beguile the rumour at home: But which is strange; those times, though rough, affoorded not yet an instrument for the execution of his desire; and all these Princes were preserved, and conveyed out of danger by those, who should have made them away. The two last were bred by Salomon, King of Hungary, where Edward (surviving hisbrother) married Agatha sister to the Queene (and daughter to the Emperour

*83000. pounds
paide to King
Knute for eva-
cuation of
Strangers.*

*Edward mar-
ried to Agatha
the Queen of
Hungarie's
sister.*

Knute.

His creation
of Churches,
& of Church
government.

Henry the second) by whom he had two sones, *Edmond*, and *Edgar*; daughters, *Margaret*, and *Christiane*. *Alfred*, and *Edward*, sonnes of King *Ethelred*, by *Emme*, were preserved by *Richard*, Duke of *Normandy* their Uncle, and so lay out of his way. His private injustice (which often may be more in compassion, than hurt to the State) he sought to recompence with all publique satisfactions, repairing the naufrage of the common wealth (made by the rage of warre) both in ornament and order, erecting Churches and Monasteries with large patents of provisions; both for the expiation of his immanities fore-committed, & to memorize the places of his victories with his thankfulness to God. The Constitutions Ecclesiastical and Civile, divulged into the language of that time, testifie his tender pietie, and care of Justice; and are so full of religious admonitions, as it seemes he held the best means to have Laws observed, was, by having them first inacted in the consciences of men. Amongst others, he inflicted exact punishment on all intemperances of his people, and offences committed against publique manners. Severe he was, but not cruell; few of his lawes sanguinary, as being not the custome of the time, which though rough, yet found meanes to maintaine publique manners, without that luctuall remedy of bloud. No punishments Capitall, unlesse conspiracies; the rest were all pecuniary mulcts, banishments, bondage or imprisonment. To shew his clemency, this (amongst many) is one example: there was a law, that *Whosoever had committed theft, and the goods found in his house, all his family were made bond, even to the childe in the cradle*: This hee abrogates as most unjust, and ordaines: *That onely the malefactor, and such as should aide him, should indure the punishment, and that the wife (unlesse the thing stolne were found under her locke) should not be guilty of her husbands offence.*

Thus was he to his people, with whom, he is said to have so well cleared himselfe (howsoever he did with God) that he became King of their affections, as well as of their Country. And to maintaine this opinion, hee did many popular acts, : as first of all Rites of Honour and reverence to the memory of the late King *Edmond*, his confederate: besides the executing of all such as could be found to have had any hand in that murther. Then married he here at home, *Emme*, late wife to King *Ethelred* (though it were more for his honour, than hers, to accept his bed, that had beeene the persecuter of her husband and children,) whereby he held the Duke of *Normandy*, from attempting any thing for his Nephewes, in regard, his sister might have other by him.

Knute King of
England, Den-
mark, and
Norway.

Having thus established this mighty Kingdome, occasion prepares him another. The people of *Norway*, contemning the debilitie of their King, and conspiring to depose him, grew into faction: whereupon he fastens, and with the great forces he brought out of *England*, the might of money, and high estimation of his worthinesse, so prevailed, as he soone obtained that Kingdome, and was now the most renowned and potent Prince in all these parts of the world: intitled, King of *England*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*.

Here withall grew his magnificence, as wide as his power, and was especially extended to the Church, which he laboured most to gratifie, either for the conscience of his deedes, or that his people (generally addicted to devotion) might be made the more his. And holding it not enough to powre out his immense bounty here within the Land, seekes to make *Rome* also feele the fulnesse thereof, whither he went in person, and performed many works of charitié and honour; both there, and in all his voyage. He freed the

Harold, Hardiknute.

the *Saxons* schools, his predecesours of *England* had solandered, from all ini- position, as he did likewise all straights and passages, where travallers were with rigor constrainted to pay toll, and chyd on his bray, in *Normandy*, and

Of his entertainment at *Rome* with the Pope, *Conrade*, the Emperour, and divers other Princes of the Christian world, himselfe writes to the Bishops and Nobility of *England*, and withall exhorteth them very powerfully to have an especiall regard to the due administration of Justice, to all his subjects alike, without doing the least wrong for his gaine, having no neede to advance his revenue by sinne: And also bargeth them to see all Churche and *Rome* as fully cleared before his returne.

The active vertue of this Prince, being the mightiest, and most absolute Monarch that ever yet appeared in this Kingdome, the author of *Scot*, and first of new Government, is such, as shewes he strives by all worthy wyes, to lay the ground-worke of a State, which according to his frame, was liker to hold good to his posterity, than hot. And as likely was he, to have obgaine the roote of a succession, spreading into many descentes, as was afterwards the *Normans*, having as plentifull an issue masculine, as he: besides, he reigned neare as long, faire better beloved, of disposition more bountifull, and of power, largenter to doe good. But it was not in his fate, his children miscauied in the succession, and all this great worke fell in a manser with himselfe, till he of *Scot* was by his sonnes, and the *Normans* by his broders, who to helpe a brother, did kill him.

Harold,

*Knute the
most absolute
monarch of
this King-
dome, of any
that was be-
fore him.*

Anno
1038:

*Harolds crn-
city.*

Harold, the eldest sonne of *Knute* (some write by his fathers ordinance, others by the election of the *Danique* Nobility, in an assembly at *Brynd*) was madd King: whereas *Godwin* Earle of *Kensland* and the Nobility of *England* would have chosen *Hardiknute* Earle of *Queene* *Emme*, onlesse *Alfred*, the son of *Ethelred* who is said to have come out of *Normandy*, upon the death of *Knute* to claime the Crown: but *Harold*, being at hand carried it. The first act of whols reign, was the banishment, and surprizing all the treasure of his mother *Quicene Emme*. Then the putting out the eyes of *Alfred* her sonne, his competitor, and conuicting him to a loathsome prison, where he died. For which deede the Earle *Godwin* boardest a fowle sharke, as betraying him. *Quicene Amme* gaues to *Baldwin*, Earle of *Flanders*, her kinman, where she remained during the reigne of *Harold*, which was but of fourte ysares, and then with her soone *Hardiknute* (who came out of *Denmark*, as he was prepared for someting else, than to visit her at *Bridges*) returned into *England*, and went into *London*, and there quideged god of all, and went to *Ha A* *Abingdon* conuicting *Godwin*, and *Alfred* of a great number of yonge men to his woe.

Haroldknuce, smil boorit, and that hee had done. His *Hardiknute* invested in the Gouvernement, soone frustrated the hope and opinion forwaide conceived of him, & first in like sorte began with that degenerous act of revenge (wherein none are said to much to delight in, as women) causing the bddy of the late King to be untomb'd, the head cur off, and throwne into the *Thames*. Then makes inquisition for such as were guilty of the deeth of *Alfred*, his brother by the mother, whereof Earle *Godwin* and the Bishop of *Worcester* are accused. The Bishop is dispossess his See, and the Earle with a rich and rare decayed present, in forme of a Ship of Gold, ap- peased

Anno
1041.

peased that furie, making protestacion of his innobency before the whole Nobilitie, with whom in respe^t his deepe roote had spread so many branches, he stood firme, and all the blame was layd to the violence and tankor of the late King.

Besides the offending these great men, he added a general grievance to the whole Kingdome, by a prodigall largeesse, giving to every Mariner of his Navy eight Marker, and to every Maister ten, which he imposed to be payd by the State. But after having called home Edward his other halfe brother, out of Normandy, hee lived not long, for farther violencies ; Dying suddenly the second yeare of his reigne, in the celebration of a marriage at Lambeth in his greatest jolity, not without suspition of poysion.

And with him ended the Government of the Danes in England, having onely continued 26. yeares under these three last Kings ; and that without any cracke or noyse, by reason the nation had no predominate side, that might sway the State, in respect of the remission of their power home in the first yeere of Knute, and no great aduision of others after : and that such, as were here before, were now so incorporated with the English, as they made one body : and most of them planted in the remote parts of the Kingdome, that lay over against Denmarke : whereby that which with all the strugling, no power or diligence of man could resist, expidit of it selfe : leaving England to a King of her owne, and Denmarke to civill discord about the succession ; Norway likewise returning obedience to a son of Olafe, recovered quietnesse, and a home-borne King.

The reason of
the extincⁿtion
of the Danes
in England.

Anno
1042.

Edward the
Confessor.
Anno
1042.

His continen-
cy.

Earle God-
win's great-
nesse.

Edward the Confessor.

D. W. R. A. D (the son of Ethelred) is sent for into Kent, and by the whole State elected, and crowned King of England at Winchester, by Edsine Archbishop of Canterbury, Anno 1042, being about forty yeares olde. Godwin Earle of Kent, was a principal agen^t in his preferment, but for his owne ends. The Kingdome (as having dearely payd for the admission of strangers) ordained, that he shold not bring any Normans with him. The first act he did, was the remission of the Danegelt, imposed by his Father, which amounted to forty thousand pounds yearly, and had beeⁿ payd for forty yeares past. Hee caused the Lawes to be collected, out of those of the Mercians, West-Saxons, Danes, and Northumbrians, and to be written in Latine. Hee was a Prince noble highly renowned for his piety, and fit for no other, than the calme time he had. For having beeⁿ so long brought up with the Nunneries at Jumieges in Normandy, he scarce knew to be a man, when hee came into England. And to shew how little he understood himselfe, they note, how in a great anger, hee sayd to a base fellow, that disturbed his game in hunting, I would punis^h thee, were I able. And as if he had vowed their continen^cy, which when hee was bred, he was so far from knowing other women (either through conciente or debility) as his owne wife after his death, protested her selfe free from all carnall act done by him, and yet lived he (for the most part) without in all formall shew of marriage.

The soft simplicite of this King, gave way to the greatness of the Earle Godwin, and his children, who for that he would seeme the especiall Earle in his preferment to the Crowne, and by matching his daughter Edwina to him, swayd chiefly the wheele of that time, and yet not without opposition.

For

For Syward, Earle of Northumberland, and Leofrike, Eare of Hereford (men of as great State and spirit) seeing him most for himselfe, became more for the King, and had their turne in performing very noble actions. Nor did their emulation, but much conduce to the present benefit, both of the King and State ; for the Earle Syward would not be behind hand, in effecting as brave deedes in the North, as Harold, Earle of West-saxe, the son of the Earle Godwin, performed against the Welch, in the West : For the first deprived of life and Crowne, Macbeth, an usurper, and invested Malcolm, in the Kingdome of Scotland ; the other deposed Ris and Griffine, two brothers, Kings of Wales, and suddued that Province to this Crowne.

The Earles Sy-
ward and Leo-
frike, men of
noble actions.

Besides, the Earle Godwin had to struggle with an Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert, a Norman, preferred from a Monke, first to London, and after to that Sea, by the King, inwardly affecting much that nation, and being part of their bloud, and bred amonst them. Of whom it seemed (notwithstanding the former order taken to the contrary) hee had many about his person, whose neerenesse, being strangers, whatsoever they did, could not avoid to be thought to doe all offices against the Earle, and the English in generall : whereby, what went not right in the line of mens desires, was thought to be their caufe. And in stomackes full charged, this occasion gave more fire. Eustace Earle of Boullogne, who had married Goda the Kings sister, having beeⁿ at the Court, and returning into France, his Harbenger in taking up lodgings at Dover, upon his peremptory behaviour, was by a Citizen slaine ; The Earle arriving with all his traine, pursues, and slue the homicide, with 18. other. The City seeing this, tooke armes, and in the bickering, the Earle lost 22. of his men : whereupon, backe he hastes to the King, aggravates the insolency of the Citizens so farre ; that Earle Godwin is sent for, and commanded with a power of men, to make against the Citie of Dover, to chaste the people. The Earle (considering it was upon the information of one side) advised the King rather to send for the chiefe of the Citie, to understand what they could say for themselvcs, and accordingly to proceede ; which (being taken for a coldnesse in the busynesse, and of favour to his Countrinem) gave the King and his enemies occasion to suspect his affection.

Eustace, Earle
of Boullogne
married Goda
the Kings
sister.

Shortly after, the Earle is summoned to an Assembly at Gloucester, where neither he, nor any of his sons would appeare ; and suspecting some practise against him by his enemies, raises forces, pretending to supprese the Welch, who were not found to offend ; whereupon the Assembly removes to London, summons him againe to make his appearance, to dismisse his forces, and to come onely attended with twelve persons. He sends them word ; to dismiss his forces he was content, or any thing else the King would command him, so it were for the safetie of his life and honour ; but to come disaccompanied, was for neither. Then was he commanded within five dayes to depart the Realme, which he did, and with Toussaine, and Swaine his sons, gets him into Flanders, where Toussaine married the daughter of the Earle Baldwin the 5. Harold his eldest son, departs into Ireland : the King puts away from him the Queene, to be partaker of the disgrace, and misery of her house ; who is described (by the writers of those times) to have beeⁿ a Lady of rare parts, excellently learned, beautifull, and as faire of minde as body. The Earle Godwin in this desperate fortune (whilst the French and his enemies possess the King) fell to Piracy, disturbed the coasts, approached London, by the River ; and being so popular, as no forces would oppose against him, made at length his owne peace with power ; in such sort, as the French

Earle Godwin's
insurrecion.

Harald the second.

The French
forsooke the
Court, and
Kingdome of
England.

French fearing revenge, forsooke both the Court and Kingdome.

Thus (as fore-pointing to a storne that was gathering on that coast) began the first difference with the French nation: which, thus acquainted with the distraction of the Kingdome, and factions of great men, wrought on those advantages, and were instruments to draw on the fatall enterprize to follow.

The weakenesse of the King, and the disproportionate greatnessse of the Earle Godwin, being risen up from so great a fall (learning thereby, to looke better to his feete, and make his side strong) increased these discontentments, and partialities in the State; wherein many acts of injustice, by the sway of power and passion were committed; which did much blacken that time of peace, and made a good man (not by doing, but enduring ill) held to be a bad King.

And it is said, that *Emme*, the Queene-mother, had her part of much affliction in his reigne, suffering both in her goods and fame: and now to purge her selfe of a scandall raised on her with *Alwyn Bishop of Winchester*, she under-went the triall of *Fire-Ordeall* (which was to passe blind-fold, with bare feet, over certaine plough-shares, made red hot, and laide an uneven distance one before another) which shew safely performed. And the reason why, both her Son and the State so little respected this great Lady, whose many yeares had made her an actor in divers fortunes, was, for that she never affected King *Ethelred*, nor the children she had by him: and for her marriage with *Knut*, the great enemy and subduer of the Kingdome, whom she ever much more loved living, and commended dead.

It seemed these private grudges, with mens particular ends, held these times so busied, that the publike was neglected, and an issue-less King, gave matter for ambition & power, to build hopes & practises upon; though for his part, he shewed to have had a care for the succession, in sending for his Nephew *Edward*, intituled the Out-law, with his children, out of *Hungary*. But *Edward*, shortly after his arrivall, died, and *Edgar* his son (surnamed *Atheling*) to say Prince *Edgar*) whom he had by his wife *Agatha*, daughter to the Emperor *Henry* the second, who (either by reason of his youth, which yet was no barre to his right, or being borne and bred a stranger, little knowing, or knowne to the Kingdome) had his claime neglected upon the death of this *Pious* King. Which was Anno 1065. when he had reigned 24. years. His corps was interred in the Church of *Westminster*, which he had newly founded.

Harald the second.

King Edward
founder of
Westminster
Church.

Harald the se-
cond.
Anno
1065.



ND Harald, son to Earle Godwin (the next day after) was preferred to the Crowne, whether by any title he might pretend from the *Danique* Kings, as descended from that Nation, and, as some report, son to *Githa*, sister to *Smaine*,) or by meere election of the greater part of the Nobility, we cannot say: but it seemes, the pressing necessity of the time, that required a more than man, to undergoe the burden of warre, and that trouble, the world was like to fall into, by reason of the claimes now made, both by the *Dane*, and *Norman*, cast it suddenly upon him; as the most eminent man of the Kingdome, both by the experience of his owne deservings, and the strength also of his owne, and the alliance of his wife *Algith*, sister of *Edwin* & *Morckar*, Earles of *Yorkshire* and *Chester*. Neither did he

Harald the second.

he faile (but in fortune) to make good this election; taking all the best courses, both for the well ordering of the State, and all provissons for defence, that a politike and active Prince could doe. But being to deale in a broken world, where the affections of men were all disjoyned, or dashit with the terror of an approaching mischiefe, failing (as usually is seene in these publicke feares) both in their diligence, and courage to withstand it, soone found more than enough to doe.

And the first man which began to disturbe his new government, was his owne yonger brother *Toustante*, who (in the time of the late King *Edward*, having the governement of *Northumberland*) was for his pride and immanities shewed in those parts, banished the Kingdome; and now by treason of his former conceived hatred against his brother, easily set on by the Duke of *Normandie*, & *Aldouin Baldouin*, Earle of *Flanders*, (whose two daughters the Duke and he had married) assailes first the Isle of *Wight*, and after sets upon the coast of *Kent*, whence he was chased by the power of *Harald*, and forced to withdraw into the North parts; and therd seeking to land, was likewise repulsed, by the Earles *Morchar* and *Edwin*. Then craves he ayd of the *Scots*, and after of *Harald* surnamed *Harfager*, King of *Norway*, being then taking in the *Orcades*, and exercising piracy in those parts; whom he induced with all his forces to invade *England*. And landing at *Tinmouth* (discomfiting their first encounters) they marched into the heart of the Kingdome without resistance. Neere *Stamford*, King *Harald* of *England* met them with a puissant Army; and after long and eager fight, ended the day with victory, and the death of his brother *Toustante*, and the King of *Norway*.

But from hence was he called with his weary and broken forces, to a more fatall businesse in the South. For now *William* Duke of *Normandy* (pretending a right to the Crowne of *England*, by the testament of the late King *Edward*, his Kinsman; upon the advantage of a busie time, and the disfurnishment of those parts) landed at *Pemsey*, not farre from *Billinges* in *Suffex*: neare to which place was tryed by the great Assize of Gods judgement in battell (the right of power) betweene the *English* and *Normans* Nation. A battell (the most memorabe of all other,) and howsoever nobly lost, yet most Nobly fought on the part of *Englands*; and the many wounds of *Harald* there slaine, with 60. thousand, 9. hundred, 74. of *English*, shew, how much was wrought to haue saved their Country from the calamity of forraine servitude.

And yet, how so great a Kingdome as *England* then was, could with one blow be subdued by so small a Province as *Normandy*? In such sort, as it could never after come to make any generall head against the Conquerour: might seeme strange, did not the circumstances aforesaid, and other concurrent causes, hereafter to be declared, give us faire and probable reasons thereof: Besides, the indisposition of a diseased time, as it is described by some that lived neerest it, may give us great evidence in this examination. For they say, the people of this Kingdome, were (by their being secure from their former enemie the *Dane*, and their long peace, which had held, in a maner, from the death of King *Edmond Ironside*, almost fifty years;) growne neglective of Armes, and generally debauched with luxurie and idlenesse: the Clergie licentious, and onely content with tumultuary learning: The Nobility given to Gluttony, Venery, and Oppression: The common sort to drunkennesse, and all disorder. And they say, that in the last action of *Harald* at *Stamford*, the bravest men perished, and himselfe grew insolent upon the victory (retaining the spoyles, without distribution to his souldiers

The Kings
brother Tou-
stante banished.

His death with
the King of
Norway.

The Battaille
was fought in
Suffex, 7.
miles from
Hastings on
Saturday the
14. of Octo-
ber, 1066.

The King va-
lor and death.

William
Malmesbury.

The Life of William the first.

souldiers, not inured to be commanded by martiall discipline) made them discontent, and unruly : and comming to this battell with many mercenary men, and a discontented Army, gave great occasion to the lamentable losse thereof.

Besides, the Normans had a peculiar fight with long bowes, wherewith the English (then altogether unacquainted) were especially overthrown. And yet their owne Writers report, how the maine Battalion of the English (consisting of Bills, their chiefe and auncient weapon) held in a body so close lockt together, as no force could dissolve them, till the Normans (faining to flye) drew them to a disordered rout. And so they excused the fortune of the day.

The body of King Harold, which at the sute of his mother (who sent two Monkes of the Abbey of Waltham to entreat the same of the Conqueror) was after much search, amongst the heapes of the dead found, and interred in the same Abbey, which himselfe had founded. He was a King which shewes us nothing but misery, reigned least, and lost most of any other. He left foure sonnes, Godwin, Edmond, Magus, and Wolfe: the two eldest fled away after this battaille into Ireland, and from thence made some attempts upon the Westerne coasts of England, but to little effect. And here ended the line of the Saxon Kings; about five hundred yeares after the first comming in of Hengift, and their plantation in this Kingdome.

And thus have I in the straightest course (wherein that uneven compasse of Antiquity could direct me) got over the wide, and intricate passage of those times that lay beyond the worke. I purpose more particularly to deliver. And now,

The Life and Reigne of William the first.

Anno
1066.

England ster-
ties over-
shoots the
Ocean.



Come to write of a time, wherein the State of England received an alteration of Lawes, Costumes, Fashion, manner of living, Language, writing, with new formes of Fights, Fortifications, Buildings, and generally an innovation in most things, but religion: So that from this mutation, which was the greatest it ever had, we are to begin with a new account of an England, more in dominion abroad, more in State, and ability at home, and of more honour and name in the world, than heretofore: which by being thus undone was made, as if it were, in the Fate thereof to get more by losing, than otherwise. For as first, the Conquest of the Danes, brought it to the entierest Government it ever possessest at home, and made it most redoubted of all the Kingdomes of the North: so did this of the Normans, by comming in upon it, make a way to let out, and stretch the mighty armes thereof over the Seas, into the goodly Provinces of the South: For before these times, the English Nation, from the first establishment in this Land, about the space of 500. yeares, never made any sally out of the Isle, upon any other part of the world, but busied at home in a divided State, held a broken Government with the Danes, and of no great regard, it seemes, with other Nations, till Knute led them forth into the Kingdome of Norway, where they first shewed effects of their valour, and what they would bee were they imployed.

But the Normans, having more of the Sunne, and civility (by their comixtion with the English) begat smoother fashions, with quicker motions in them than before. And being a Nation free from that dull disease of drinke,

where-

The Life of William the first.

wherewith their former conquerours were naturally infected, induced a more comely temperance, with a neerer regard of reputation & honor. For wheras before, the English lived loose, in little homely Cottages, where they spent all their revenues in good fare, caring for little other gaiety, at all: Now after the Norman manner, they build them goodly Churches, and stately houses of stone, provide better furnishments, erect Castles, and Towers in other sort than before. They inclose Parkes for their private pleasure, being debard the generall liberty of hunting, which heretofore they enjoyed: whereupon all the termes of building, hunting, tools of workmen, names of most handy-crafts appertaining to the defences and adornments of life, came all to be in French. And withall, the Norman habits, and fashion of living, became generally assumed, both in regard of novelty, and to take away the note of difference, which could not be well lookt upon in that change.

And though the body of our language remained in the Saxon, yet it came so altered in the habit of the French tongue, as now we hardly knowe it, in the ancient forme it had; and not so much as the Character wherein it was written, but was altered to that of the Roman and French, now used: unto the end we may the better knowe the man, and the Nation that thus subdued us, we must take our course up to the head of their originalls. The Normans, we finde to have issued out of Norway and Denmark, and were of like maners, as the rest of those Northerne Countries; which by reason of the apt mixture of their Phlegmatique and Sanguine complexions, with their promiscuous ingendering, without any tye of marriage, yeelded that equinall surchargements of people, as they were forced to unburthen themselves on other Countries, wheresoeuer their violence could make them roome. And out of this redundancie, Roul, or Rou, a great commander amongst them, furnished a robustious power, in the time of King Alfrid, and first landed in England (that ever lay in the Roade to all thec invaders) where finding no roome empay, nor any imployment, was content (upon some reliefe receyved) to use his forces other-where; which he did against Rambald, Duke of Frize, and Reignier Duke of Chyamont and Hennals; with whom he had many violent encounters, and committed great spoyles in their Countries. Which done, he passed along the coastes of France, entred the mouth of Seine, and sackt all the Country up to Roan, where the people having beeene lately before miserably afflicted by Hastings (another invader of the same Nation) were so terrifid by the approach of these new forces, that the Archbishop of Roan, by the consent of the people, offered him the obedience of that City, and the Country about, on condition he would defend them, and minister Justice according to the lawes of Christ, and the customes of the Country. For Charles the simple, then King of France, yeelding no present succour, (being otherwise imbroyled about the right of his Crowne) gave him the opportunity to plant in that place, and to grow so powerfull, as shortly after he attempted the conquest of Paris, and gave many notable decess to the French Leaders. So that in the end, Charles was faine to buy his peace with the price of an alliance, and the whole Country of Nievstria, (or Welsch) which of the Normans, was after called Normandy. And thereupon Roul became a Christian, and baptizid; had the name of Rabers, given by Rold, brother to Eudes late King of France, who then stood in competition for that Crowne with Charles the Simple: and is sayd to have underayded Roul secretly, of purpose to make him friend his designes, though after he urged it in an article against Charles, the giving away his Country, and the favouring of strangers.

Malmbury.
Mauricius, Bis-
hop of London
An. Dom.
1087.
new built the
Church of S.
Paul in Lon-
don, of stone
brought out of
Normandie.
The Charter
of William I.
granted to
this Church.
Before this
time the
Churches
were most
of Timber.
William I.
built the
white Tower,
afterwards
walled and
incastellled un-
derneath by
William II.
and Henry I.
The Saxon
habit, and
Characters
first altered.
The originall
of the Normans.
Roul, or
Rou, the first
Norman that
landed in
England.
The History
of Normand.
Roul, the first
Conqueror of
Normandy
from the
French, cal-
ling it Nor-
man.

And thus came Roule to establish a State to his posterity, ordering the same with that judgement and equitie, as he left his name in a perpetuall reverence, and his successors a firme foundation to plant upon. From him, in a direct line, descended sixe Dukes of Normandy, in the space of 120 years: William 1. Richard 1. Richard 2. who had two sonnes; Richard and Robert, that successively inherited the Dukedom.

Robert after he had governed eight yeates (either merely for devotion, which charity ought rather deeme) or expiation for some secret guilt, where-with his conscience might stand charged about his brothers death (which because it was untimely, might be thought unnatural) resolves to visite the Holy Sepulchre. And acquainting his Nobility therewith, was by them much dissuaded, in regard he had no issiue, and for that (already they said) Alain Earle of Britaine, and the Earle of Burgoyne, were in contestation, who should succeeze him in the Dutchie: so that upon his death, and their strife, the Country was like to become a prey to the souldier, from which in conscience he was bound, by his best meane to secure it. The Duke willed them to be content: I have (sayd he) a little Bastard, of whose worthiness I have great hope, and I doubt not but he is of my begetting: him I will invest in the Dutchie as mine heire: And from henceforth I pray you take him for your Lord. The Earle of Britaine (notwithstanding his competition) to shew the affiance I have in him, I will constitute his goverour, and Seneschall of Normandie; the King of France shall be his Guardian, and so I leave him to God, and your loyalties.

Shortly after, the Bishops, and Barons did their homage to his base sonne, named William, who was the fift Duke of Normandy after Roule, begotten on Alix, a meane woman of Falaise. And Duke Robert taking his intended journey, delivers the Child with his owne hand, to Henry the first, King of France, whom before he had mainly alredy in preseruing his Crowne (lescham by his father King Roberts Testamony) against his elder brother, and his mother Constance, which with a great partie of Nobility stood for the right of Primogeniture, according to the custome of France: And therefore might the more presume (if good turnes done to Princes could weigh so much) as their selfe-respects would not turne the skale to have had a faire discharge of his trust: and him for a Protector, whose power was best able to be so. And causing the Childe to doe homage for his Dutchie of Normandy, commits him to his Royall faulch, departs his Court, and shortly after his life, in 1087. Whereupon his successor, but nine yeares of age, became obnoxious to all the malices that afflerte Princes in their pupillage: besides, the reproach of his birth, which though his honor and vertue might get over, yet lay it ever a barre in his way, and hindred his standing cleere, stood he never so high.

The Nobles of Normandy, soone (after his fathers death, by much entreaty, get him out of the French Kings hands) thinking the having of him amongst them, would add more to his Counsellors, and such as were in office: and the State of a Count, awe his State the better. But soone they found, having his person (without his power) was, but to part them out, into more discord, and faction. For presently followed the murthering, and poysoning of Goverours, displacing of Officers, invasion, supplantation, surpising, and recovering of his person, by a Nobilitie, stubborn, haughty, and incomparable of each others precedency or nearenesse. But this was the least, as being done all for his person. Now followed more dangerous, practices contrived against him. His right was

quarrelled by competitors, cleare in blood, and great in meanes. Whereof the first (though farthest off in descent) was Roger de Tresny, bringing a faire line from Roule; and much prooef of his owne worth, by having gotten great experience in the Sarazint warre in Spaine: whereby upon his returne, entertaining and feasting the great, and especiall men of worth, he was grown powerfull, well followed, and beloved of many: in so much that at length, measuring his owne height, he urges, What wrong it was that a Bastard, and a Childe should be preferred before him, in the succession of the Dutchie, his Ancestors had nobly gotten: and what a shame the Normans (a people of that worth) would endure to be so governed; seeing they had others of the renouewed race of Roule, William, and Richard, Dukes of Normandy, of a lawfull and direct line, if they held him unworthy to inherite the State. And being impatient (as is ambition, that ever rides without raines) of any long delay, brings his claime to a strong battaile in the field, which by the valiancie of Roger de Beaumont, was utterly defeated, and himselfe with his two brethren slaine. Whereby all feare that way was extinguished, and the reputation of the Duke and his, so much advanced, as the King of France, (notwithstanding his tutelary charge) tooke from him the Castle of Thylliers, and demolisht it, pretending the insolencies committed there, by the Garrisons, upon his subjects: and makes shew as yet, onely to keepe things even: But long it was not ere he plainly bewrayed his minde, ayding in person William Earle of Arques, brother to Duke Robert, and sonne to Richard the second, making his claime to the Dutchie, and brings a mighty Armie to succour Arques, assyged by Conte Guiffard, the Dukes Generall; who (by a stratagem so trayned the French into an Ambush) as he overthrew their whole power, and returnes the King to Paris, with great losse, and dishonour: Leaving Arques (the first Arch of triumph) to this Conqueror, not yet arrived to leaventene yeares of age; and the discomfited competitor to seeke his fortunes with Eustace Earle of Burgoyne, finding upon his returne little grace in Courts, where fortune ever alters credit, and few regard men overthrowne.

This storging over past, another succeeds more dangerous: where lived with Duke William, a young Lord of like yeares, named Guy sonne to Regnalt, Earle of Burgoyne and Alix, daughter to Richard the second; who comming to be sensible of his interest, was advised by some stirring spittis, to attempt for the Dutchie, which they sayd appertayned to him in right, and was wrongfully usurped by the Bastard: And to advance his purpose, there happens deadly hostilitie betweene two of the greatest Lords of Normandy (Conte Neel, and the Earle of Beffin) whose debate Duke William did not, or could not pacifie. This Guy (lately made Earle of Bryorn, and Vernon,) interposed himselfe to compose this discord, and by the advice of Arnoul de Puis (a principall moover in this worke) so wrought, that either of these Lords, turned the point of their malice upon him, whi in their quarrell favouring neither, made both to hate him, and easily conspire with Guy to murther him, at unawares: Which they had done, had not a certayne Foole (whom, for being held a natural, they suspected not) noting their preparations, got away in the dead of the night to Valognes, knocking and crying at the gate, till hee was admitted to the Dukes presence, whom hee willed in hate to flye, or hee would bee murthered. The Duke seeing the Foole in this affright, thought dangers were not to be weighed by the worth of the Reporter, but by their likelyhood; and knowing his Fortune, was lyable unto all suddaine assassinations: instantly takes

Horse, and all alone postes to *Fallaise*, his especiall place of strength: on the way, his horse being tyred, about break of day, he comes to a little village called *Rye*, where, by good Fortune, the Gentleman of the place, was standing at his doore, ready to goe abroad; of whom the Duke requires the next way to *Fallaise*: The Gentleman perceiving who he was (though as then very unwilling to be knowne) humbly craves the cause of his so strange and untimely riding alone: The Duke seeing himselfe discovered, tells the occasion: The Gentleman (whose name was *Robert de Rye*) furnishes him with a fresh horse, and sends two of his sonnes to conduct him the neerest way to *Fallaise*: No sooner was he gone out of sight, but after post the Conspirators, enquiring of the same Gentleman whether he lay low the Duke; who answered that he was gone a little before, such a way (shewing them a divers path) and rode on with them, offering his service to Count *Bessin*; where they made themselves so powerfull, as the Duke withdrew him to *Roan*, and from thence to the King of *France*, to crave his ayde, putting him in minde of the faithfull service his Father had done him: how he was his Homager, under his tutelary charge, and had no other sanctuary of succour to flye unto, in this case of his mutinous and turbulent Nobility; the effect whereof was of dangerous consequence to that Crowne: And so farre urged the importancie of relieve, as the King at length (who seemes was yet content to have him be, though not too strong, and peradventure rather him than his Competitor *Guy de Burgogne*) ayded him in Person with a puissant Armie against these Competitors, whom they found in the vale of *Dunes* with a great power and resolution to bid them battaile, as they to assaile them. Heere one *Guilleson*, Uncle to *Viconte Neel* by the mother, forced his Horse into the Battailion of the *French*, and made at the King, and stike him downe with his Launce: Which Conte *Saint Paul* perceiving, hastes to encounter him with that Violence, as both fell to the Earth; but *Guilleson* soone gets up, and though his Horse was slaine under him, by *Castillon*, he escapes out of the preesse, and after fled into *Apulia* with others. The King recovered, and more inkindled with this affront, spared not his Person, to avenge his wrath. Duke *William* likewise (as it stood him most upon) shewed effects of an all-dating and Magnanimous Prince. And yet had not *Ralph de Tesson* beeene false to his fellowes to recover fauor with him, he had not carried (as he did) the victory.

After which, divers of the Conspirators (who had too great hearts to yeeld) passed the Mountaines into *Italy*, to *Robert Guiscard* their Countryman (who of a private Gentleman, was now by his proesse, become Lord of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicile*, within the space of twelve yeares:) to whom they were exceeding welcome, and especially *Guilleson*, for having incurred with a King in the middest of his battaile; which made him of wider note. But the better to know, what starre these *Norman* spirits had, as borne for the revolutions of those times, it shall not lye out of our way to shew, how they first came into *Italy* upon this occasion.

There happened a debate betweene one *Osmond Drentgote*, and *Williams Repoſell*, Gentlemen both valiant, and of great Parentage in *Normandy*, who as they hunted in the Forrest of *Rouvery* (near *Rouan*) with Duke *Robert*; *Drentgote* slew *Repoſell*, in his presence; and fearing the fury of the Duke, and the friends of the slaine, fled to *Rome*, and so to *Naples*, where he, with his small Company of *Normans* that followed him, was entertained of the Duke de *Bencuento*, to serve him against the *Saracins* and *Africans*, which miserably infested *Apulia* and *Calabria*, at that time. The bruite of which entertainment

ertainment was no sooner spred in *Normandy*, but divers Valiant Gentle-men and Soldiery, allureed with the hope of good Fortune, passed the Alpes, got to their Nation, and so wrought, as they grew formidable to these *Barbarians*, and in the end, utterly chased and abt extinguished them. The *Calabrians* and *Apulians*, seeing themselves rid of their enemies, would have beeene glad likewise (their turne served) to be rid of their Friends, and either using them more unkindly than of custome, or they presuming more of desert, turned their swords upon their Entertainers. And first got a little place, which they fortified for the *Rendezous*, and receipt of booty: And so augmenting still their Winnings, obtained Territories, Cities, and Fortresses. And after the death of *Drentgote*, succeeded other gallant Leaders, and at length *Tancred*, *Sigñor de Hauteville*, in *Constantine*, with his twelve sons, came into *Apulia*, of whom his third son *Robert*, surnamed *Guiscard*, attaigned the command, and was a man of faire stature, cleare judgement, and indefatigable courage. He conquered all *Apulia*, *Calabria* and *Sicile*, passed the Sea into *Greece*, relieved *Michael Dicrisius*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, defeated *Nicephorus* that usurped the Empire, and shortly after *Alexius* attempting the like; and in one yeare vanquished two Emperours, the one of *Greece*, the other of *Germany*: swayed the whole state of *Italy*, and was in a faire way to have obtained the Empire of *Constantinople* for himselfe, had he not died in the expedition.

Beomond his eldest son, by his first wife, became after Prince of *Antioch*, and is much renowned in the holy warres. *Roger* (of his second marriage with the daughter of the Prince of *Salerno*) succeeded in the states of *Italy*, as more theirs by birth and bloud. His daughters were all highly married; Thus from a private Gentleman, came this famous *Norman* to leave a succession of Kings & Princes after him, & died the same yeare as did this *William*, his concurrent in the love and favour of Fortune. And to this man fled all the discontented and desperite *Normans* during these civill warres the Duke had with so many Competitors; and every overthrow he gave them, augmented *Guiscards* forces in *Italy*; and especially this battell of *Dunes*, which ended not the Dukes travails, for *Guy de Burgogne* escaping the fight, fortified the Castles of *Brorn* and *Verneville*, but in the end was faine to render them both, and himselfe, to the Dukes mercy, and became his pencioner, who was his Competitor; which act of Clemency in the Duke, brought in many other to submit themselves; whereby they reobtained their Signories, but had their Castles demolished, justly as he had done.

Having ended this worke, new occasions to keepe him in action, was ministred by *Goffry Martel Earle of Anjou*, who walking upon the the *Bois d'ovins*, incroached also upon his neighbours States, and usurped *Aston*, *Dampfront*, and *Passe*, members of the Dutchy of *Normandy*: Which to recover, the Duke leavies an Army, and first got *Alesson*, where (for that he was opprobriously scorned by the besidged, who, when they saw him, would cry *La Pel*, *La Pel*, in reproach of the basenesse of his mother, and the Trade of the place of his birth) he shewed extreme crueltie. Then layes he siege to *Dampfront*; which to relieve, Count *Martin* comes with his greatest forces: and the Duke to take notice of his strenght, sends out *Roger de Montgomery*, with two other Knights to deliver this message to the Earle, That if he came to visitall *Dampfront*, he should finde him there the Port to to keep him out: Whereto the Earle returns this answer, Tell the Duke, to morrow by day breake, he shall have me there on a white horse, ready to give him the Combat, and I will enter *Dampfront* if I can; And to the end he shall know me, I will weare a shield, without any device.

Roger

The Life and Reigns of William the first.

Roger replies, Sir you shall see neede to take that paines, for to morrow morning, you shall have the Duke in this place, mounted on a day horse; And that you aby know him, he shall wear evyn the paine of his Lassane, a stameane of Taffeto, to stynp your face. Herewith returning, eah side prepares for the morning: When the Earle, busie in ordering his battells, was advertised by two Horse-men, that came crossing the field, how Dampfusse, for certaine was sendred to the Duke; wherupon in great rage, he presently departs with his Army: whiche of a party, was (in passing a freight) cut off, by Vicente Nell, who for that service, redemeed his former offence, and was restored to the Dukes favour, whom he ever after faithfully served. Those of Dampfusse, desperate of succour, presently yeld themselves to the Duke, who with his armes and forces removeth from thence to Hambrires, a frontire Towne of Count Marcell, and by the waye had it not beene by himselfe discovered, he had beeene utterly overthrowne by an ambush, which gave him much to doe, and lost him many brave men. Whereupon he grew so enraged, that he rushd into the troupes of his enemies, made at Count Marcell, stroke him downe with his sword, clavé his Helme, and cut off an eare: but yet he escaped, out of the preasse, though divers were taken, and the Anjouins utterly defeated.

Whilst thus hee was travailed with an outward enemy, two more, were found at home, to conspire against him: William Guelph, Earle of Auvergne, descended from Richard the ffirst: And William Earle of Eu and Montrœul, issing from William, the brother of the same Richard, and of Eſſelin, Countesse of Murbel: the one upon suspition, the other upon prooſe, of an intention, was banished, and his estate sekeſt: the Barledome of Moraigne he gave to Robert, that of Eu to Odo (after Bishop of Bayeux); both his birthright by the mother. These assaults from abroad, these scornes, conspiracies, and unclayn workings at home, bee passed before, he was full 22. yeares of age: in diuidis his chomies madenes, that sought to undoe him. But now, to underſet and strengthen his ſtate, againſt future praefiſes, he convokes an assembly of his Prelates, Barons, and Gentlemen, cauſing them to geode their oath of Fealty, and raz their Caſtles, which done, he married her to the daughter of Baldwin the fift, Earle of Flanders, but not without conſtant trouble: for his Nicle, Manger, Arch-biſhop of Rouen, excommunicated him, for marching within the forbidden degrees of kindred, ſhe boing daughter to Eleanor, daughter to Richard the ſecond, and ſo his fathers ſisters daughter, Exempte for which offence (upon a diſpenſation from Pope Urban), they were enjoyng the building of certaine Hospitals for blidynge people: and two Abbeys, the one for men, the other for women: althoſe were erected at the Duke's charge, but not by him.

This malice, and thoſe over-matching his enemies, ſett him ſo high, a marke of enuy, in the eye of France, whiche naturally loved not the Normans, (whom in reproach they usually called, Tychians), as they easily incenſed their King, whid of himſelfe was forward enough, to abate a power, growne ſo out of proportion with the rest of the Peaces of his Dominions, to finde a quarrel whiche comenſe easily, to ſcruþ upon him, and to make it looke the faire, pretends to adiue the obidenece of the Normans committed upon his territories, and to reliefe Count Marcell opprest by the Duke; beſides alledging, It ſetarded him ſhort and iuſtice, to have that Prince, which the Duke of Cremona, ſhould be governed by a Prince of ſuppreſſfull bloud, according to Chriftian order, and Lawe, Ecclesiastical. And chey therefore resolveth, utterly to extorpiate the Duke, and establish a legitimate Prince in the Duchie.

The Duke
marries Ma-
tilda daughter
of Baldwin
the fift Earle
of Flanders.

The reasons
why the King
of France wars
with the Nor-
mans.

The Life and Reigns of William the first.

For which eſſe, two armies are gathered from all parts of his Kingdome, the one ſent along the River Sein, the other into the Countrey of Beſſon, as meaning to encoumber him.

The Duke likewife devides his forces into two parts, ſends his brother Odo, Earle of En, Walter Gifford, Earle of Longueville, and others with the one, to the Countrey of Caux; himſelfe with the other takes towards Eu, reuē to make head to the King that was at Mante, and withdrawes all cattle and proviſions out of the flat Country, into Cities & Fortresses, for their owne ſtore, and diſturfuſment of the enemis. The Kings army marching from Beauvois, to Mortimer, and finding there a fat Country full of all proviſions, bedooke them to make good cheere, and reſt there all that night; thinking the Normans forces were yet with the Duke at Eureux; which the Army in Caux conducted by Odo understanding, marched all night, and by breakē of day, gave them ſo hot an alarum, and ſo ſodaine, as put them all in a rout, leaving horſe, and armour, & all to the assaylants, who made ſuch a deftiture of them, that of forty thousand, not the fourth part escaped.

With this defeiture, the King of France is againe returned home, with great rage and griefe, and the Duke, with the redemption of the prisoners, recovers his peace, and the Castle of Thulliers, taken from him in his under-age. Count Marcell, though much diſmaied at the Kings overthrow, yet leaves not to make ſome attempts for the recovering his Townes, but with no ſuccesse. The Duke he ſaw was too well beloved and followed, for him to doe any good without a stronger arme. Wherefore the next Spring, he does againſt importune the King of France, to aide him againſt the Duke: who (he laid) Was now grovē ſo insolent upon this peace, and the victory he had gotten, and not wotting, that there was no living for his neighbours neare him: Besides, the Normans had the French in ſuch derision, and base esteeme, as they made their act (at Mortimer) their qneyl sport, and the ſubject of their rimis: as if a King of France, upon the loſe of a few men, was retired, and durst not breake a diſhonourable peace.

With which iuſtigation, and being ſtung with the touch of reproach, hee raises another Army farre mightier than before, wherein were three Dukes, and twelve Earles, and notwithstanding the ſolempe peace made, and ſo lately ſworne with the Duke, he enters Normandy in the haruſt time, over-runnes and ſpoiles all the Countrey, along the coaſt to Roffain: from whence marching to Bayeux, and Cauſe, with purpoſe to paſſe the river Duce at Varneville, to diſtroy the Countries of Augie, Licſeux, and Roumoys, even to Rodin, and finding the caue-way long, and the bridge narrow, cauſed his vanguard to paſſe over firſt: and to ſecure his Arier-gard conducted by the Duke of Berry, himſelfe ſtaleſ behinde in Tracy, till his people, and their carriages were paſſed. Duke William (who all this while, ſtores his fortresses with men and vittuals) maide himſelfe as strong in the Towne of Falaise, as hee could; hath no Army in the field, but a ſunning camp, to be ready to take all advantages: lets the furie of the ſtorme ſpend it ſelfe, and having adverſitement of this paſſage, marched all night with ten thouſand men, and in the morning early, lets upon the Arier-gard, with ſo ſodaine a cry and fury, as they who were before on the caue-way hearing this noife behinde, thrust forward their fellowes, hafing to get over the bridge, with ſuch a crowd and preſſe, as they brake it, and many were drowned in the river. They who were got over, could not returne to aide the rest, nor the King (by reaſon of the Marshes on both ſides) yeld any ſuccour to his people, but ſtood a ſpectator of their slaughter, and the taking of ſixe of his Earles, of whom one was

The deftiture
of the Army
of the King of
France by the
Normans.

The army of
the King of
France over-
thrown at
Varneville by
the Normans.

was the exiled Earle of *Ea*, whom the King (favouring his great worth) had made Count *De Soissons*.

The grieve of this overthrow, shortly after gave the King of *France* his death, and the Duke of *Normandy* a joyfull peace, which he nobly employ'd in the ordering and adorning his State: building, endowing, and decking Monasteries and Churches: gathering reliques from all parts to furnish his Abbes at *Caen* (where he also erected a Tombe for himselfe and his wife) feasting and rewarding his Nobles and men of worth: whereby he so possest him of the hearts of his people generally, as they were intirely his, for what he would.

The Duke comes to visit his kinsman.

Harold goeth over into Normandy. His entertainment.

His promises to the Duke.

During this calme of his life, he makes a journey over into *England*, as if to visite King *Edward* his kinsman: who, in regard of the preseruation, and breeding he had in *Normandy*, by Duke *Richard* the second (Grandfather to them both) gave him most Royall entertainement: and here he shew'd himselfe; and here (no doubt) he found matter of his hopes to worke on. In this interview he discovered *England*, being to be presuppos'd, he came not to gather cockle-shels, on the shore. Nor was it long after erec *Harold* (whether of purpose to ratifie some paction closely contriv'd betwixt them: or by casualty of weather driven into *France*, (and so faine to make it seeme a journey of purpose to the Duke, is not certainly deliver'd) was gallantly entertained in *Normandy*, presented with all shewes of Armes, brought to *Paris*, and there likewise feasted in that Court. And at his returne to *Rouen*, something was concluded, either in likely-hood to devide the Kingdome betweene them, or that *Harold* being a coast-dweller, and had the strongest hand in the State, should let in the Duke, and do his best to help him to the Crowne, upon conditions of his owne greatnessse, or whatsoever it was: promises were made and confirm'd by oathes upon the Evangelists, and all the sacred Reliques at *Rouen*, in the presence of divers great persons. Besides, for more assurance, *Harold* was fianc'd to *Adeliza*, the Dukes daughter, and his brother *Wolnos* left a pledge for the performance.

This intercourse made the trans-action of the fate of *England*, and so much was done, either by King *Edward* or *Harold* (though neithers act, if any such were, was of power to prejudice the State, or alter the course of a right succession) as gave the Duke a colour to claim the Crowne, by a donation made by Testament, which being against the Law and Custome of the Kingdome, could be of no validitie at all. For the Crowne of *England* being held, not as Patrimoniall, but in a succession by remotion (which is a succeeding to another place) it was not in the power of King *Edward* to collate the same by any dispositive and testamentary will, the right descending to the next of blood, onely by the Custome and Law of the Kingdome. For the Successour is not said to be the heire of the King, but the Kingdome, which makes him so, and cannot be put from it by any act of his Predecessour. But this was onely his claiming; the right was of his owne making, and no otherwise. For as soone as he had heard of the death of King *Edward*, with the Election, and Coronation of *Harold*, (for they came both together) hee assembles the States of *Normandy*, and acquaints them with the right he had to *England*, soliciting an extention of their humbl meanes for his recovery thereof, and avengement of the perjur'd usurper *Harold*; shewing them apparent probabilitie of successse, by infallible intelligence hee had from the State, his strong party therein, with the debility and distractiion of the people: What glory, wealth, and greatnessse, it wold adde to their Nation, the obtaining of such a Kingdome, as was that opportunity lidae open for them, if they apprehended

bended the present occasion. All which remonstrances notwithstanding, could induce but very few to like of this attempt, & those such who had long followed him in the warres, exhausted their estates, and content to runne upon any adventure that might promise any likelihood of advancement. The rest were of divers opinions: Some, that it was sufficient to hold & defend their own Country: without hazarding themselves, to conquer others, and these were men of the best abilitie: others were content to contribute, but so sparingly, as would little advance the busynesse: and for the most part they were so tired with the former warres, and so desirous to embrace the blessing of peace, as they were unwilling to undergoe a certaine trouble, for an uncertaine good. And with these oppositions, or faint offers, the Dukes purpose, at first, had so little way, as did much perplexe him: At length, seeing this protraction, and difficulty in generall: he deales with his nearest and most trusty friends in particular, being such as he knew affected the glory of action, and would adventure their whole estates with him. As *William fiz Auber*, *Comte de Bretteville*, *Gualter Gifford Earle of Longueville*, *Roger de Beaumont*, with others, especially his owne brothers, *Odo Bishop of Bayeux*, and *Robert Earle of Mortaigne*: these in full assembly he wrought to make their offers; which they did in so large a proportion; and especially *William fiz Auber* (who made the first offer, to furnish forty Ships with men and munition, the Bishop of Bayeux forty, the Bishop of *Mans* thirty, and so others, according, or beyond their abilities) as the rest of the assembly, doubting if the action succeeded without their helpe, the Duke (arriving to that greateesse) would bear in minde, what little minde they shew'd to advance his desires, began to contribute more largely. The Duke, finding them yielding, though not in such sort as was requisite for such a worke; dealt with the Bishops, & great men apart, so effectually, as at length he got of them severally, which of altogether hee could never have compassed; and causing each mans contribution to be registred, inkndled such an emulation amogst them, as they who lately wold doe nothing, now strived who should doe most.

And not onely woh he the people of his owne Provinces, to undertake this action, but drew by his faire persuasions and large promises, most of the greatest Princes and Nobles of *France*, to adventure their persons, and much of their estate with him; as *Robert fiz Haruyn*, Duke of *Orleance*, the Earles of *Brittaine*, *Ponthieu*, *Bologne*, *Poitou*, *Mayne*, *Nevers*, *Hiesms*, *Aumal*, *Le Signior de Tours*, and even his mortall enemy *Martel*, Earle of *Anjou*, became to be as forward as any. All which, he suse could never have induced, had not his vertues and greatnessse gained a wide opinion and reputation amonst them. Although in these advancements, and turne of Princes, there is a concurrency of dispositions, & a state of times prepared for it: yet is it strange, that so many mighty men of the *French* nation, wold adventure their lives and fortunes to adde *England* to *Normandy*, to make it more than *France*, and so great a Crowne to a Duke, who was too great for them already. But where mutations are destined, the counsels of men must be corrupted, and therewill fall out all advantages to serve that busynesse.

The King of *France*, who should have strangled this desaigne in the birth, was a child, and under the curature of *Baldwin*, Earle of *Flanders*, whose daughter the Duke had married, and was sure to have rather furtherance than any opposition that way: Besides, to amuze that Court, and dazell a young Prince, he promised faithfully, if he conquered this Kingdome, to hold it of that King, as he did the Duchie of *Normandy*, and doe him ha-

The subtil proceeding of the Duke with his Nobles.

The French likewise aide the Duke.

The reason of the Dukes power.

The Dukes speech to the assembly of the States of Normandy.

image for the same; which would adde a great honour to that Crowne. Then was he before-hand with Pope Alexander (to make Religion give reputation and avowment to his pretended right) promising likewise to hold it of the Apostolique See, if he prevailed in his enterprise. Whereupon the Pope sent him a Bannet of the Church, with an Agnus of gold, and one of the haires of Saint Peter. The Emperour Henry the fourth, sent him a Prince of Almaine with forces, but of what name, or his number, is not remembred: so that we see it was not Normandy alone that subdued England, but a collected power out of all France and Flanders with the aides of other Princes. And by these meanes, made hee good his undertaking; and within eight moneths was ready furnished with a powerfull Army at Valery in Normandy, whence he transpotted the same into England in 896 shippes, as some write. And thus was the man, and thus made to subdue England.

1066.
Anno
Reg. I.

Reasons for
the yeelding
of the Clergy.

What moved
the Nobles to
yeild.

The Corona-
tion and oath
of William I.

And how having gotten, the great and difficult battaile, before remembred, at Hastings, the fourteenth of October 1066. he marched without any opposition to London, where Edwin and Morchar, Earles of Northumberland, and Mercia (brothers of eminent dignitie and respect in the Kingdome) had laboured with all their power to stirre the hearts of the people for the conservation of the State, and establishing Edgar Atheling, the next of the Royall issue, in his right of the Crowne: whereunto other of the Nobility had likewise consented; had they not seene the Bishops averse or wavering. For, as then, to the Clergy, any King (so a Christian) was all one: they had their Province a-part, devided from secular domination: and of a Prince (though a stranger) who had taken up so much of the world before hand, upon credite and fame of his pietie and bountie, they could not but presume well for their estate: and so were content to give way to the present Fortune.

The Nobility, considering they were so borne, and must have a King: not to take him (that was of power to make himselfe) would shew more of passion than providence; and to be now behinde hand to receive him, with more than submission, was as if to withstand: which (with the distrust of each others faith) made them strive and run headlong, who should be the first to pre-occupate the gracie of servitude, and intrude them into foraine subjection.

The Commons (like a strong vessell that might have beeene for good use) were hereby left without a sterne, and could not move irregularly. So that all estates in generall, either corrupted with new hopes, or transported with feare, forsooke themselves, and their distressed Country. Vpon his approach to London, the Gates were all set open: the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, Stigand, with other Bishops, the Nobilitie, Magistrates, and People, rendring themselves in all obediencie unto him: and he returning plausible protestation of his future Government, was on Christmas day, then next following, Crowned King of England, at Westminister, by Aldred, Arch-bishop of Yorke, for that Stigand was not held Canonically invested in his See; and yet thought to have beeene a forward move of this alteration.

Here, according to the accustomed forme, at his Coronation, the Bishops, and Barons of the Realme, tooke their oaths, to be his true and loyall subjects, and he reciprocally (being required thereunto by the Arch-bishop of Yorke) made his personall oath, before the Altar of Saint Peter, To defend the Holy Church of God, and the Relicks of the same: To govern the Universall People, subject unto him, justly: To establish equal Lawes; and to see them duly executed. Nor did he ever claime any power by Conquest, but as a regular

gular Prince submitted himselfe to the orders of the Kingdome: desirous rather to have his Testamentary Title (howsoever weake) to make good his succession, rather than his sword. And though the stile of Conquerour by the flattery of the time, was after given him; he shewed by all the course of his governement he assumed it not: introducing none of those alterations (which followed) by violence, but by a milde gathering upon the disposition of the State, and the occasions offered, and that by way of reformation. And now taking Hostages for his more security, and order for the defence and government of his Kingdome, at the opening of the Spring next, he returns into Normandy, so to settle his affaires there, as they might not distract him from his busynesse in England, that required his whole powers.

And to leave here all safe behind him, he comits the rule of the Kingdome, to his brother the Bishop of Bayeux, and to his Cofin Fitz * Auber, whom he had made Earle of Hereford; taking with him all the chiefe men of England, who were likest to be heads to a revolt: As Edgar Atheling, the Arch-bishop Stigand, lately discontented: Edwin, and Morchar, with many other Bishops and Noble-men: Besides, to unburden his charge, and dis-impester his Court; he tooke backe with him all the French Adventurers, and such as were men, rewarding them as faire as his treasure would extend, and the rest he made up in faire promises.

In his absence, which was all the whole Summer, nothing was here attempted against him, but onely that Edric, surnamed the Forrester, in the County of Hereford, called in the Kings of the Welsh, to his ayde, and foraged onely the remote borders of that Country: The rest of the Kingdome stood quiet, expecting what would become of the new world, wherein as yet they found no great alteration, their lawes and liberties remaining the same they were before, and might hope by this accession of a new Province, the State of England would be but enlarged in dominion abroad, and not impayred in profit at home, by reason the Nation was but small, and of a plentifull and not overpeopled Countrey, likely to impester them.

Having disposed his affaires of Normandy, he returns towards winter into England, where he was to satisfie three sorts of men: First, such Adventurers, with whom he had not yet cleared: Secondly, those of his owne people, whose merits or neerenesse, looked for recompence, wherof the number being so great, many must have their expectation fed, if not satisfied: Thirdly, the people of this Kingdome, by whom he must now subsist: For being not able with his owne Nation so to impeople the same, as to hold and defend it (if he should proceed to an extirpation of the naturall Inhabitants) he was likewise to give them satisfaction.

Wherein, he had more to doe, than in his battell at Hastings; seeing all remunerations, with supplyes of money, must be raised out of the stocke of this Kingdome, which could not but be irkesome to the state in generall; & all preferments and dignities conferred on his, to be either by vacancies, or displacing others, which must needs breed very feeling grievances in particular. And yet we finde no great men thrust out of their roomes, but such as put themselves out, by revolting, after his establishment, and their fealty given, as appeares by the controveirsie betweene Warren the Norman, and Sherburne of Sherburne Castle in Norfolke, which Castle, though the King had given to Warren, yet (when Sherburne alledged, How he never bare Armes against him: that he was his subject as well as the other, and held his Lands by that law which he had established amongst all his subjects) the King gave judgement against Warren, and also commanded, that Sherburne should hold

King Williams submis-
sion to the
orders of the
Kingdome of England.

* Or Osne.

King will-
iam returns
into Norma-
ny with the
chiefe Nobili-
ty of England.

King william
returns into
England.

ambien
Norf.

The Life and Reigne of William the first.

M. S.

1067.

Anno

Reg. 2

The English
Nobility for-
sake the king-
dome.The King of
Scots enters
league with
the English
Nobility, and
married Ed-
gar's sister.

1068

Anno

Reg. 3.

hold his Land in peace: So that it seemes, he contented himselfe and his, for the time, onely with what he found here ready, and with filling up their places, who were slaine in the battell; or fled, as many were, with the sonnes of Harald out of the Kingdome. Such Gentlemen as he could not presently preferre, and had a purpose to advance, hee dispersed abroad into Abbyes, there to live till places fell out for them: and 24. he sent to the Abby of Eely: whereby he not onely lessened the mustitude of attendants and suiters at Court; eased that eye-sore of strangers, but also had them a watch over the Cleargie, who then were of great and eminent power in the Kingdome; and might preuale with the people.

But the English Nobilitie, incompatible of these new concurrences, found notwithstanding, such a disproportion of grace, and darkning of their dignities, by the interposition of so many, as must needes lessen their splendours; that many of the chiefeſt, doubting to be more impaired in honor and estate, conspired together, and fled, ſome into Scotland, and ſome into Denmarke, to trie if by aide from abroad, they might recover themselves, and their fortunes again at home. Among which, the chiefe was Edgar Atheling (tearneſt Englands Dearling, which ſhewed the peoples zeale to his bloud,) who with his mother Agatha, and his two ſisters, Margaret and Christin, intending to retire into Hungary (their native Country,) were driven by tempeſt on the coaſt of Scotland, where they were in all Hospitable manner entertained by Malcolm the third, whose former ſufferings in his exile, had taught him to compassionatene others like diſtrefſes; and whom it concerned now to look to his owne, his neighbours house being thus on fire: and to foster a party againſt ſo dangerous an incomer, that was like to thrust them all out of doore. Which induced him not only to entertaine this Prince, diſpoſeſt of his right, but to enter league with him for the publike ſafety; hee takes to wife Margaret, the ſister of Edgar, (a Lady indued with all bleſſed vertues) by whom the bloud of our ancient Kings was preſerved, and conjoined with the Norman in Henry the ſecond, and ſo became English againe. Vnto Edgar in Scotland, repaired the Earles Edwin and Morchar, Hereward, Gospatric, Steward, with others: and ſhortly after Stigand and Alred, Archbifhops, with divers of the Clergy: who in the third yeare of this Kings reigne, raised very great commotions in the North, beyond Humber, and wrought moſt egerly to recover their loſt Country: but being now too late, and the occaſion not taken before the ſetling of the government, whiſt it was new, and branling, they prevailed nothing, but gave advantage to the Conquerour, to make himſelfe more than he was: For all conſpiracieſ of Subjects, if they ſucceeđe not, advance the Sovereigntie: and nothing gave roote to the Norman planting here, moſt than the petty revolts made by diſcattered troupes, in leſſal parts, begun without order, and followed without reſolution; whereas nothing could be done for a generall recovery, but by a generall ſublevatiōn of the people, for which all wary preventions were uſed, and they had waiteſ enough laid on, to hold them downe. And theſe Lords imbroiled themſelves and held him doing in the Norrh, yet he having all the South parts ſetled under his dominion, with well practiſed and prepared Forces, there could be little hope of good, whiſt all their great Estates furniſh the Normans, both in ſtate and meaneſ to ruine them. The Earledome, and the Lands which Edwin held in Yorkſhire, were given to Alain, Earle of Brittaine, kinsman to the Conqueror; The Arch-biſhopricke of Canterbury, confer'd on Lanfranc, Abbot of Caen: That of Yorke, on Thomas his Chaplaine; and all the reſt both of the Clergy and

The Life and Reigne of William the first.

and oþers, which were out, had their places within, ſupplied by Normans.

And after King William had appeaſed a commotion in the West, which the ſonnes of Harald, with forces out of Ireland had raifed, and alſo repreſed the rebellion of Exceſter and Oxford, he takes his journey in perſon Northward with all expedition (lefte the eneity there, ſhould grow too high in heart and opinion, upon the great ſlaughtere of his people, made at Yorke; and the deſtitute of his brother and Lieutenant, Robert Earle of Mortune, ſlaine with ſeven hundred Normans at Durham:) where, at his firſt coming he ſo wrought, that he either diſcomfited, or corrupted the Generals of the Danique forces (newly arrived to aide the Lords, ſent by Swaine, King of Denmarke, under the conduet of hiſ two ſonnes, Harold and Knute, with a Navy of three hundred ſaile:) and after ſets upon the Army of the Lords, weakened both in strength and hope, by this departure of their confederates, and puts them to flight. Which done, he utterly wasted, and laide desolate, all that goodly Country beſtweene Yorke and Durham, the ſpace of 60 miles; as it might be no more a ſuccour to the enemy; And the like course he uſed on all the Coaſts where any apt landings lay for invaſions; and ſo returns to London.

Moſt of the Lords after this deſeat, came in, upon publicque faith given them, and were conducted to Barkhamſted, by the Abbot Fredricke: where, upon their ſubmiſſion and Oath of Allegiance re-taken, they had their paſdon, and reſtitution of grace granted by the King, who it ſeemeſ was ſo willing to acquiet them, that againe hee takes his perſonall Oath before the Arch-biſhop Lanfranc, and the Lords, To obſerve the ancient Lawes of the Realme, eſtabliſhed by hiſ Noble Predeceſſors, the Kings of England, and eſpecially of Edward the Confeſſor. Whereupon theſe ſtormy diſpoſitions held calme a while.

But long it was not ere many of theſe Lords (whether upon intelligence of new hopes, from Prince Edgar (who was ſtill in Scotland,) or growne desperate of new diſpleaſure at home, finding ſmall performance of promiſes made, rupture of Oath, and all other respects, brake out againe. The Earle Edwin, making toward Scotland, was muſthered by his owne people. The Lords Morchar and Hereward, betooke them to the Iſle of Elie, mea ning to make good, that place for that Winter; whiſt alſo repaired the Earle Syward, and the Biſhop of Durham out of Scotland. But the King who was no time-giver unto growing dangers, beſets all the Iſle with flat boates on the Eaſt, and made a bridge of two miles long on the West, and ſafely brought in his people upon the enemy, who ſeeing themſelves ſurprized; yeelded all to the Kings mercy, except Hereward, who deſperately marched with his people through the Fens, and recovered Scotland: The reſt were ſent to divers Prifons, where they died, or remained during the Kings life. Thoſe Lords who persisted loyall upon this laſt ſubmiſſion, were all employed and well graced with the King, as Edric the Forreſter (and firſt that rebelled in hiſ Reigne) was held in cleare truſt, and neere about him. Gospatric he made Earle of Northumberland; and ſent him againſt Malcolm, who in thiſ time, ſubdues the Countries of Tiffall, Cleveland and Cumber land: Waltheof, ſonne to the Earle Syward, he held ſo worthy to be made hiſ, as he married him to hiſ Neece Judith, though he had beeene a principall actor in the Northerne commotion (& in defending the city of Yorke againſt him, is ſaid to have ſtriken off the heads of divers Normans, one by one, as they entered a breach, to the admiration of all about him) ſhewing theſe in that true touch of the nobleſt nature, to love vertue in hiſ enemies.

1074.
Anno.
Reg. 8.

And now seeing *Scotland* to be the especiall retraite for all Conspirators, & discontented in his Kingdome, yeelding them continuall succour, and assistance, and where his competitor *Edgar* lived, to beget and nurse perpetuall matter, for their hopes, and at hand for all advantages; he enters that Kingdome with a puissant Army; which, encountering with more necessities than forces, soone grew tyred, and both Kings, considering of what difficulties the Victory would consist, were willing to take the safest way to their ends, and upon faire overtures, to conclude a peace; Articling for the bounds of each Kingdome, with the same title of Dominion, as in former times: All delinquents, and their partakers generally pardoned.

Scotland before this time generally spake a kind of Irish.

Titles of honour in Scotland.

1175.
Anno Reg. 9.
1176.
Anno Reg. 10.
1177.
Anno Reg. 11.

Heere with the universall turne of alteration thus wrought in *England*, *Scotland* (being a part of the body of this Isle) is noted to have likewise had a share; and as in the Court of *England*, the *French* tongue became generally spoken; so in that of *Scotland* did the English, by reason of the multitude of this Nation, attending both the Queene and her brother *Edgar*, and dayly repayring thither for their safety, and combination against the Common enemy; of whom divers, abandoning their native distressed Countrey, were by the bounty of that King preferred; and there planted, spread their offspring into many Noble families, remayning to this day: The titles of distinguishing degrees of honour; as of Duke, Earle, Baron, Rider or Knight, were then (as is thought) first introduced; and the Nobler sort began to be called by the title of their *Sigories*, (according to the *French* manner) which before bare the name of the father, with the addition of *Mac*, after the fashion of *Ireland*. Other innovations, no doubt, entred there likewise at the opening of this wide mutation of ours: fashion and imitation like weedes growing in every soyle.

Shortly after this late made peace, Prince *Edgar* voluntarily came in, and submitted himselfe to the King, being then in *Normandy*, and was restored to grace, and a faire maintenance, which held him ever after quiet. And it made well at that time for the Fortune of the King, howsover for his owne, being thought to have ill-timed his affaires (either through want of seafona-ble intelligence, or despaire of successse) in making too soone that submission, which was later or never to be done. For in this absence of the King, *Roger Fitz Auber*, the young Earle of *Hereford*, contrary to his expresse Comman-dement, gave his sister in marriage to *Ralph Waber*, Earle of *Norfolke*, & *Suf-folke*, and at the great Solemnization thereof, the two Earles conspired with *Fustace* Earle of *Boloigne* (who secretly came over to this Festivall) and with the Earle *Waltheof*, and other *English* Lords, to call in the *Danes*, and by maine power to keepe out and dispossesse the King. Who having thus passed over so many gulfs of forraine dangers, might little imagine of any wrack so neare home: and that thosb, whom he had most advanced, should have the especial hand in his destruction! But no rewards are benefits (that are not held so,) nor can ever cleare the a counts with them that over value their merits. And had not this opportunity beeue discovered (which some say, that by the Earle *Waltheof*, mooved with the uglinesse of so foule an ingratitude) they had put him againe to the wipping of *England*. But now the fire bewraied before it flamed, was soone quenched by the diligence of *Odon* the Kings Vice-gerent, the Bishop of *Worcester* & others, who kept the conspirators from joyning their forces: So that they never came to make head, but were either sur-prized, or forced to flye. The Earle *Roger Fitz Auber* was taken and some say, executed; and so was shortly after the Earle *Waltheof*, whose dissent from the act, could not get his pardō for his consent, though much cōpassion in respect

of

of his great worthinessse. But the wide distance of these tumors, fed from many secret veines, seemed to be of that danger, as required this extreamity of cure, especially in a part so apt for infection, upon any the like humours.

For this Conspiracy seemes to take motion from a generall league of all the Neighbour Princes, here about, as may wel be gathered by their severall actions. First in the King of *France* by defending *Dole* in *Brittaine* (a Castle of *Ralph de Waler*) against the King of *England*, and likelihod, employing the Earle of *Bolognet* towards the Conspirators: In *Swaine* King of *Den-marke*, by sending a Navy of two hundred sayle, under the conduct of his sonne *Knute* and others. In *Drone* King of *Ireland*, by furnishing the sonnes of *Harald* with sixty five ships. In *Malcolme*, and the Kings of *Wales*, by their readinesse to assist. But the *Danes* being on the coast, and hearing how their confederates had sped, with the great preparations the King had madde, after some pillage taken upon the coasts of *England* and *Flanders*, returned home, and never after arrived to disturbe this land. Though in *Anno Reg. 19. Knute*, then King of *Denmarke*, after the death of *Swayne* (intending to repaire the dishonour of his two last adventures past) and to put for the Crowne of *Eng-land*, his predecessors had holden; prepared a Navy of a thousand sayle, and was ayded with sixe hundred more by *Robert le Frison* Earle of *Flanders* (whose daughter he had married.) But the windes held so contray for two yeares together, as utterly quasht that enterprize, and freed the King, and his successors for everafter, from future molestation that way.

But this busynesse put the State to an infinite charge, the King entretaining all that time (besides his *Normans*) *Hugh*, brother to the King of *France*, with many companies of *French*. Finding the *English* (in respect of many great Families allied to the *Danes*) to incline rather to that Nation, that the *Normans* had had experiance of the great and neare intelligence continually passing betweene them.

And these were all the warres he had within the Kingdome, saving in *Anno Regni 13.* he subdued *Wales*, and brought the Kings there to do him homage. His wars abroad, were all about his Dominions in *France*; first raised by his owne son *Robert*, left Lieutenant-governor of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and *Countey of Mayne*; who in his fathers absence, tasting the glory of command, grew to assume the absolute rule of the Provinice, causing the Barons there, to do him homage (as Duke) not as Lieutenant, and leagues him with the King of *France*; who working upon the easinesse of his youth, and ambition, was glad to apprehend that occasion to disjoyn his estate, who was growne too great for him. And the profuse largesse, and disorderly expence, whereto *Robert* was addicted, is nourished by all wayes possible as the meanes to imbarke him in those difficulties, of still getting money, that could not but yeld continual occasion to entartaine both his owne discontent, and theirs, from whom his supplies must be raised. And though thereby he purchased the title of *Curtain*, yethe lost the opinion of good government, and constrained the Estates of *Normandy*, to complaince to his Father of the great contission, and violent extactiones he used amongst them.

The King understanding the fire thus kindled in his own house, that had set others all in combustion, hastes with his Forces into *Normandy*, to have surprized his son: who adverteized of his coming, furnishit with 2000 men at arms by the king of *France*, lay in ambush where he should passe, sets upon him, de-feited most of his people, & in the pursuite hapisted to incouter with himself, whom he unhorsed, & wounded in the arme with his Lance; but perceiving by his voyce it was his father, he hasted to remount him, humbly craving

E 3

1078.
Anno Reg. 12

1079.
Anno Reg. 13

The Kings of Wales doe ho-mage to King William.

Robert of Normandy ti-tled Courtois.

pardon

The Life of William the first.

1080.

*Anno**Reg. 14.**Robert rebels
against his
Father.*

1081.

*Anno**Reg. 15.*

1082.

*Anno**Reg. 16.**Louis and
Henry sonnes
of the Kings
of England
and France.*

1026.

*Anno**Reg. 10.**King William
denies to doe
homage for
England to
the King of
France.*

1089.

*Anno**Reg. 21.**His govern-
ment in peace*

pardon for his offence: which the father (seeing in what a case he was) granted, howsoever he gave; and upon his submission tooke him with him to *Rouen*, whence, after cured of his hurt, returned with his sonne *William* (likewise wounded in the fight) into *England*.

Long was it not ere he was againe informed of his sonnes remutining, and how he exacted upon the *Normans*, usurpt the intire government, and urged his fathers promise thereof, made him before the King of *France*, upon his conquest of *England*: which caused his little stay here, but to make preparations for his returne into those parts: whether in passing he was drijen on the coast of *spaine*, but at length at *Burdeaux*, with his great preparations his sonne *Robert* came in, and submitted himselfe the second time: whom he now tooke with him into *England*, to frame him to a better obedience, imployed him in the hard and necessitous warres of *Scotland* (the late peace being betweene the two Kings againe broken) and after sent him backe, and his young sonne *Henry*, with the aslocation of charge and like power (but of more trust) to the government of *Normandy*.

After the two Princes had beeene there a while, they went to visite the King of *France* at *Constance*; where feasing certaine dayes, upon an after dinner, *Henry* won so much at *Chesse* of *Louis*, the Kings eldest sonne, as hee grew into *Choller*, called him the sonne of a Bastard, and threw the Chesse in his face. *Henry* takes up the Chesse-boord, and strake *Louis*, with that force, as drew blood, and had killed him, had not his brother *Robert* come in the meane time, and interposed himselfe: whereupon they suddenly tooke horse, and with much ado they recoved *Pontoise*, from the Kings people that pursued them. This quarrell arising, upon the inter-meeting of these Princes (a thing that seldom breedes good blood amonst them) re-enkindled a heate of more rancor in the Fathers, and beganne the first warre betweene the *English* and *French*. For presently the King of *France*, complots againe with *Robert* (impatient of a partner) enters *Normandie*, and takes the *Cittie* of *Vernon*. The King of *England* invades *France*, subdues the Country of *Zantonge* and *Poitou*, and returnes to *Rouen*, where the third time, his son *Robert*, is reconciled unto him, which much disappoints and vexes the King of *France*, who thereupon, summons the King of *England* to doe him homage for the Kingdome of *England*, which he refused to doe, saying,

He had it of none but God and his sword. For the Dutchy of *Normandy* he offers him homage, but that wuld not satisfie the King of *France*, whom nothing wuld, but what he could not have, the Maisterie: and seekes to make an occasion the motive of his quarell: and againe invades his territories, but with more losse than profit. In the end, they conclude a certaine crazie peace, which held no longer than King *William* had recovered a sicknesse, whereto (through his late travell, age, and corpulencie) he was fallen; at whichtime, the King of *France*, then young and lusty, leasting at his great belly, whereof he sayd he lay in at *Rouen*, so irritated him, as he being recovered, he gatheres all his best forces, enteres *France* in the chiefeft time of their fruits, making spoyle of all in his way, till he cam to *Paris*, where the King of *France*, then was, to whom he sends, to shew him of his up-sitting, and from thence marches to the *Cittie* of *Meaux*, which he utterly sackt and in the destruction thereof, gaid his owne, by the straynt of his horse, among the breaches, and was then conveyed like to *Rouen*, and so ended his wars.

Now for his governement in peace, and the course he held in the establishing the Kingdome thus gotten, first, after he had represt the conspiracies in the North, and well quietted all the other parts of the State, which

now

The Life and Reigne of William the first.

now being absolutely his, he would have to be ruled by his owne Lawe) he began to governe all by the Customes of *Normandy*. Whereupon the agreed Lords, and sad people of *England*, tender their humble petition, *Be seeing him in regard of his oath made at his Coronation: And by the soule of Saint Edward, fram whom he had the Crowne and Kingdome: under whose Lawes they were borne and bred; that he would not adde that misery, to deliver them up to be judged by a strange Law they understood not.* And so earnestly they wrought, that he was pleased to confirme that by his Charter, which he had twice fore-promised by his Oath: And gave commandement unto his Iusticiaries to see those Lawes of Saint Edward (so called, not that hee made them, but collected them out of *Merchen-law*, *Dane-Law*, and *West-Sax-Law*) *To be inviolably obserued throughout the Kingdome.* And yet notwithstanding this confirmation, and the Charters afterward granted by *Henry* the first, *Henry* the second, and King *John*, to the same effect, there followed a great innovation both in the Lawes and governement in *England*. So that this seemes rather to be done to acquit the people, with a shew of the Continuation of their ancient customes and liberties, than that they enjoyed them in effect. For the little conformitie betweene them of former times, and these that followed upon this change of State, shew from what head they sprang. And though there might be some velynes issuing from former originals, yet the maine stremme of our Common law, with the practise thereof, flowed out of *Normandy*, notwithstanding all objections can be made to the contrary. For before these collectiōs of the *Confessors*, there was no universall Law of the Kingdome, but every severall Province held their own customs, all the inhabitants from *Humber* to *Scotland* used the *Danique Law*: *Merchland*, the midſt of the Country; & the State of the *West Saxons*, had their severall constitutions, as being severall Dominions; and though for ſome few years, there seemed to be a reduction of the *Heptarchie*, into a *Monarchie*, yet held it not ſo long together (as we may ſee in the ſucceſſion of a broken governement) as to ſettle one forme or order currant over all: but that every Province, according to their particular Founders, had their customes apart, and held nothing in common (besides Religion, and the conſtitutions thereof) but with the universality of *Meum & Tuum*, ordered according to the rites of nations, and that *Ius in patum*, the common law of all the world, which we ſee to be as universall, as are the cohabitations, and ſocieties of men, and ſerved the turne to hold them together in all Countries, howſoever they may differ in their formes. So that by these paſſages, we ſee what way we came, where we are, and the furthest end we can diſcover of the originall of our Common law, and to ſtrive to looke beyond this, is to looke into an uncertaine Vastneſſe, beyond our diſcerning. Nor can it detract from the glory of godd Cūſtomes, if they bring but a pedigree of 600 yeares to, approue their gentilitie; ſeeing it is the equitie, and not the antiquity of Lawes that maketh them venerable, and by the integrallie of the professours thereof, the profession honored. And it were well with mankind, if dayes brought not their corruptions, and good orders were continued with that providence, as they were iſtituted. But this alteration of the Lawes of *England* bred moſt heaſie doleances, not onely in this Kings time, but long after. For whereas before, thoſe Lawes they had, were written in their owne tongue, inelligible to all; now are they tranſlated into *Latine* and *French*, and practiſed wholly in the *Norman forme* and *Languaſſes*, thereby to draw the people of this Kingdome, to learie that ſpeech for their owne neede, which otherwise they would not doe. And ſeeing a difference

*What were
the Lawes of
England.**The origi-
n of the Con-
mon Law
now uſed.**The Law of
England put
into a for-
eign langu-
age.*

difference in tongue, would not continue a difference in affections; all means were wrought to reduce it to one *Idiom*, which yet was not in the power of the Conquerour to doe, without the extirpation, or over-laying the Land-bred people; who being so farre in number (as they were) above the Invaders; both retaine the maine of the Language; and in few yeares, have those who subdued them, undistinguishably theirs. For notwithstanding the former Conquest by the *Danes*, and now this by the *Norman* (the solide bodie of the Kingdome, still consisted of the *English*) and the accession of strange people, was but as rivers to the Ocean, that changed not it, but were changed into it. And though the King laboured that he could, to turn all into *French*, *By enjoying their children here to use no other Language with their Gramer in Schooles, to have the Lawes practised in French, all petitions and busynesse of Court in French, No man graced but he that spake French; yet soone after his dayes, all returnes naturall *English* againe (but Law) and that still held forraigne, and became in the end wholly to be inclosed in that Language: nor have we now, other marke of our subjection and in vassalage from *Normandy*, but onely that, and that still speakes *French* to us in *England*.*

And herewithall, *New Termes, new Constitutions, new formes of Pleas, new Offices, and Courts*, are now introduced by the *Normans*, a people more inured to litigation, & of spirits more impatient, and contentious, than were the *English*: who (by reason of their continual war, wherein Law is not borne, and labour to defend the publicke) were more at unite in their private: and that small time of peace they had, Devotion, and good fellowship entertained. For their Lawes and Constitutions before, wee see them, plaine, briefe, and simple, without perplexities, having neither fold nor pleit; commanding; not disputing: Their grants and transactions as briefe and simple, which shewed them a cleare-meaning people, retaining stil the nature of that plaine realnesse they brought with them, uncomposed of other fashion than their owne, and unaffectionate imitation.

And for their trials (in cases criminall) where manifest prooфе failed, they continued their auncient Custome, held from before their Christianity (untill this great alteration) which trials they called *Ordeal*; Or (signifying) Right, Deale, Part, wheresof they had these kinds: *Ordeal by fire* which was for the better sort, and by water for the inscriour: That of *Fire*, was to goe blindfold over certaine ploughshares, made red hote, and laid an uneven distance one from another. That of *Water* was either of hote, or cold: in the one to put their armes to the elbow, in the other to be cast headlong. According to their escapes or hurts, they were adjudged: Such as were cast into the rivers, if they sanke were held guiltlesse; if not, culpable, as ejected by that Element. These trials they called the judgements of God, and they were performed with solemn Oraisons. In some cases The accused was admitted to cleare himself by receiving the *Excharist*, or by his owne Oath, or the Oathes of two or three; but this was for especiaill persons, and such, whose livings were of a rate allowable thereto, the usuall opinion perswading them, that men of abilitie held a more regard of honesty.

With these, they had the *triall of Campe-fight*, or single combat (which likewise the *Lumbards*, originally of the same *German* Nation, brought into *Italy*) permitted by the Law, in cases either of safety, and fame, or of possessions. All which trials, shewed them to be ignorant in any other forme of Law, or to neglect it; nor would they be induced to forgoe these Customes, and determine their affaires by Imperiall or Pontificall Constitutions, no more than would the *Lumbards* forfake their duellary Lawes in *Italy*; which their Princes

The English trials in cases Criminally.

Men of abilitie cleared by their Oathes.

Princes (against some of their wills) were constrained to ratifie, as *Luyt-prandus* their King thus ingeniously confesses: *We are uncertaine of the judgement of God, and wee have heard many by fight, to have lost their cause; yet in respect of the Custome of our Nation, we cannot avoide an impious Law*. But all these Formes of judgements and trials, had their seasons: those of *Fire* and *Water*, in short time after the Conquest, grew dis-used, and in the end utterly abrogated by the Pope; as derived from Paganisme: That of *Combatte* continued longer-lived, but of no ordinarie use: And all actions now, both criminall and reall, beganne to be wholly adjudged by the verdict of twelve men, according to the custome of *Normandy*, whete the like forme is used, and called by the name of *Eusest*, with the same cautions for the Iurors, as it is here continuued to this day. Although some hold opinion, that this forme of triall, was of use in this Kingdome from all Antiquite, and alledge an Ordinance of King *Ethelred* (*Father to the Confessor*) willing in their *Gemote* or conventions, monethly held in every *Hundred*, twelve grave men of free condition, shoudl with the *Greve*, the *Chiefe Officer* amongst them, sware upon the *Evangelists*, to judge every mans cause aright. But here we see twelve men were to be assessor with the *Greve* to judge; and no Iurors, according to this manner of triall now used; Besides, had there beene any such forme, we should aswell have heard thereof in their Lawes and practise, as of those other kinds of *Ordeall*, onely and usually mentioned.

But whatsoever innovations were in all otherthings; the government of the peace & security of the Kingdome (which most imported the King to looke to) seen es to be continued as before, & for that busines he found here better Lawes established, by the wary care of our former Kings, than any he could bring. Amongst which especially was the *Borough Law*, whereby every free man of the *Commons* stood as surety for each others behaviour, in this sorte.

The Kingdome was devide into Shieres or Shares; every Shiere consisting of so many Hundreds, and every Hundred of a number of Boroughs, Villages, or Tythings, containing ten houndsioler, wheresof; If any one shoud commit an unlawfull act, the other nine were to attache, and bring him to reason: If he fled, thirly one dayes were enjoyed him to appeare: if in the meane time apprehended, he was made to restore the damage done; otherwise the *Free-borough-head* (to say the *Tything-man*) was to take with him two of the same Village, and out of thre other Villages next adjoyning as many (that is, the *Tithing-man*, and two other of the principall men) and before the Officers of that *Hundred*, purge himself, and the Village of the fact, restoring the damage done with the goods of the malefactors; which, if they suffised not to satisfie, the *Free-borough*, or *Tything*, must make up the rest, and besides take an oath to be no way accissary to the fact; and to produce the Offendor; if by any meanes they could recover him, or know where he were: Besides, every Lord and Master, stood *Borough*, for all his Family, wheresof, if any servant were called in question, the Master was to see him answer it in the *Hundred*, where he was accused. If he fled, the Master was to yeeld such goods as he had to the King. If himselfe were accused to be aiding or privite to his servants flight, he was to cleare himselfe by five men, otherwise to forfeit all his goods to the King, and his man to be out-lawed.

These linckes thus intermutually fastened, made so strong a chaine to hold the whole Frame of the State together in peace and order, as, all the most politique regiments upon earth, all the inter-leagued Societies of men, cannot shew us a strighter Forme of combination. This might make the Conquerour, coming upon a people (thus Law-bound hand and foote) to establish him, safelone, and easilly as he did; This *Borough-law* being as a Cittadell,

The English trials.

The continuation of the Law for the peace.

The Borough Law of the Saxons.

Saxon Lawes.

Lambert.

No popular
Insurrection
before the
Conquest.

The meane
used by the
Normans to
establish his
Conquest.
Alteration of
the Government.

The order of
deciding con-
troversies in
the Saxons
time.

New orders
instituted by
the Normans.

The altera-
tion of Tenures

Lambert.
Freehold.

The Tenure
of Gavel kin.

The customes
of Kent pre-
served by the
mediation of
the Archbi-
shop Stigand.

Cittadell, built to guard the Common-wealth; comming to be possesst by a Conquering Master) was made to turn all this Ordinance upon the State, and batter her selfe with her owne weapon: and this Law may be some cause, we find no popular insurrection before the Cōquest. For had not this people beene bound with these Fetteres, and an idle peace (but had lived loole, and in action) it is like they would have done as nobly, and given as many, and as deepe wounds ere they lost their Country, as ever the Brittaunes did, either against the Romans, or the Saxons, their predecessors, or themselves had done against the Danes; a people farre more powerfull, and numerous than these. The Conquerour, without this, had not made it the worke of one day, nor had Normandy ever beene able to have yeelded those multitudes for supplies, that many battailes must have had.

But now, *First, the executing this Law. Secondly, dis-weaponing the Commons. Thirdly, preventing their night-meetings with a heavy penalty, that everie man at the day closing, should cover his fire, and departe to his rest. Fourthly, erecting divers Fortresses, in fit parts of the Kingdome. Fifthly, collating all offices, both of command, and judicature, on those who were his, made his domination such as he would have it.*

And where before the Bishop and the Alderman were the absolute Judges to determine all businesse in every Shire, and the Bishop in many cases sharred in the benifts of the Mulcts with the King; now he confined the Clergy, within the Province of their owne Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, to deale only in businesse concerning rule of soules, according to the Canons, and Lawes Episcopall.

And whereas the causes of the Kingdome were before determined in every Shire, and by a Law of King Edward Senior, all matters in question should, upon especiall penalty, without further deferment, be finally decided in their Gemote, or conventions held monthly in every hundred: now he ordained, *That fourre times in the yeare, for certaine dayes, the same businesse should be determined in such place as hee would appoint, where hee constituted Judges to attend for that purpose, and oþthers, from whom, as from the bosome of the Prince, all litigatours should have Justice, and from whom was no appeal. Oþthers hee appointed for the punishment of malefactors, called Iusticiarij Pacis.*

What alteration was then made in the tenure of mens possessions, or since introduced, we may find by taking note of their former usances. Our Ancestors had only two kindes of tenures, Book-land, and Folk-land, the one a possession by writing, the other without. That by writing was a free-hold, and by Charter, hereditary, with all immunitiess, and for the free and nobler sort. That without writing, was to hold at the will of the Lord, bound to rents and services, and was for the rurall people. The inheritances descended not alone, but after the German maner, equally devideed to all the children, which they called Land-skifian, to say, Part-land, a custome yet continued in some places of Kent, by the name of Gavel-kin, of Gifcal kin: And hereupon some write how the people of that Country, retained their ancient lawes and liberties, by especiall grant from the Conquerour, who after his battell at Hastings, comming to Dover, to make all sure on that side, was encompassed by the whole people of that Province, carrying boughes of trees in their hands, & marching round about him like a moving wood. With which strange and sodaine shew being much moved, the Arch-bishop Stigand, and the Abbot Egelsin, who had raised this commotion by shewing the the people in what danger they were, utterly to lose their liberties, & to endure the perpetuall misery of servitude, under the domination

(domination of strangers) present themselves, and declared, *How they were the universall people of the Country, gathered together in that manner with boughes in their hands, either as Olive branches of intercession, for peace and liberty, or to intangle him in his passage, with resolution rather to leave their lives, than that which was deerer, their freedome.* Whereupon they say, the Conqueror granted them the continuation of their former Customes and Liberties: whereof, notwithstanding they now retaine no other, than such as are common with the rest of the Kingdome.

For such as were Tenants at the will of their Lords (which now growne to a greater number, and more miserable than before) upon their petition and compassion of their oppression he releaved, their case was this. All such as were discovered to have had a hand in any rebellion, and were pardoned, onely to enjoy the benefit of life, having all their lively-hood taken from them, became vassals unto those Lords to whom the possessions were given, of all such Lands forfeited by attaintors. And if by their diligent services, they could attaine ahy portion of ground, they held it but onely so long as it pleased their Lords, without having any estate for themselves, or their chil-dren; and were oftentimes violently cast out upon any small displeasure, contrary to all right: whereupon it was ordained, that whatsoever they had obtained of their Lords, by their obsequious service, or agreed for by any lawfull pact, they should hold by an inviolable Law, during their own lives.

The next great worke after the ordering his Lawes, was the raising and disposing of his revenues, taking a course to make, and know the utmost of his estate, by a generall survey of his Kingdome, whereof he had a president by the *Dome Booke of Winchester*, taken before by King Alfred. But as one day informes another, so these actions of profit grew more exact in their af-ter practise: and a latger Commission is granted, a choise of skilfuller men employed, to take the particulars both of his owne possessions, and every mans else in the Kindome, the nature and the qualitie of their lands, their e-states, and abilities; besides the descriptions, bounds, and divisions of Shires, and Hundreds, and this was drawne into one booke, and brought into his treasury, then newly called the Exchequer (according to the soveraigne Court of that name of Normandy) before termed here *Talee*, and it was called the *Dome booke* (*Liber judicarii*) for all occasions concerning these parti-culars.

All the Forrests and Chases of the Kingdome, he seized into his owne pos-session; and exempted them from being under any other Law than his owne pleasure, to serve as *Penetraria Regum*, the withdrawing Chambers of Kings, to recreate them after their serious labours in the State, where none other might presume to have to do, and where all punishments and pardons of delinquents were to be disposed by himselfe, absolutely, and all former customes abrogated; and to make his command the more, he increased the number of them in all the parts of the Land, and on the South coast dis-peopled the Country for above thirtie miles space, making of old inhabited pos-sessions, a new Forrest, inflicting most severe punishments for hunting his Deere, and thereby much advances his revenues. An act of the greatest con-cussion, and tyranny, he committed in his reigne, and which purchased him much hatred. And the same course held (almost every King neere the Con-quest) till this heavy grievance was allayed by the Charter of Forrests, granted by Henry the third.

Besides these, he imposed no new taxations on the State, and used those he found very moderately, as *Danegelt*, an imposition of two shillings upon every

*Gerulfus
Tilburyensis.
Diatog. Scacc.*

Villanage.

A survey
made of the
Kingdome.

*Gerulfus
Tilburyensis.
de Scac.
Dome booke.*

ibid.

The new for-
est in Hamp-
shire.

He imposed
no new taxa-
tions.

The occasion
of paying
Escusage.

The customes
of Fifts.

By what
meanes hee
increased his
Revenewes.

The Law for
murther re-
nued, firs
made by King
Kraute.

Gervasius
Tilb.

King William
seazed upon
the Treasurie
committed to
Monasteries.

every hide or plough-land (raised first by King Ethelred, to bribe the Danes, after to warre upon them) he would not have it made an annuall painment, but onely taken upon urgent occasion, and it was seldome gathered in his time, or his successors (saith Gervasius;) yet we finde in our Annals, a taxe of sixe shillings upon every head-land, leavied presently after the generall survey of the Kingdome. *Escusage* (whether it were an imposition formerly laide, though now newly named, I doe not finde) was a summe of money, taken of every Knights Fee: In after times, especially raised for the service of Scotland; And this also, saith Gervasius, was seldome leavied but on great occasion, for stipends, and donatiuves to soldiery: yet was it at first a due, reserved out of such lands as were given by the Prince for service of warre, according to the Customes of other Nations. As in the Romans time we finde Lands were given in reward of services to the men of warre, for terme of their lives, as they are at this day in Turkey. After they became patrimoniall, and hereditary to their children. Severus the Emperour was the first who permitted the children of men of warre, to injoy their Fifts, provided that they followed armes. Constantine to reward his principall Capitaines, granted them a perpetuity in the Lands assigned them. The estates which were but for life, were made perpetuall in France, under the last Kings of the race of Charlemaine. Those Lords who had the great Fifts of the King, subdivided them to other persons, of whom they were to have service.

Mulctuary profits besides, such as might arise by the breach of the Forrest-laws, he had, few or none new, unlesse that of murther, which arose upon this occasion. In the beginning of his reigne, the rankor of the English towards the new-come Normans, was such, as finding them single in woods, or remote places, they secretly murthered them; & the deed doers (for any the severest courses taken) could never be discovered: Whereupon, it was ordained, that the Hundred, wherein a Norman was found flaine, and the murtherer not taken, should be condemned to pay to the King, some 26. pounds, some 28. pounds, according to the quantity of the Hundred; that the punishment being generally inflicted, might particularly deter them, and hasten the discovery of the malefactor, by whom so many must (otherwise) be interested.

For his provisionarie revenewes, he continued the former custome held by his Predecessors, which was in this manner. The Kings Tenants, who held the Lands of the Crown, paid no money at all; but onely Victuals, Wheate, Beefes, Muttons, Hay, Oates, &c: And a just note of the qualitie and quanttie of every mans rayment was takenthroughout all the Shires of the kingdome, and leavied ever certaine, for the maintenance of the Kings Houle. Other ordinary In-come of ready moneyes was there none, but what was raised by mulcts, and out of Cities and Castles where Agriculture was not used: what the Church yeeded him, was by extent of a power that never reached so farre before; and the first hand, he laid upon that side which weighed heavily, was his seazing upon the Plate, Jewels, and Treasure within all the Monasteries of England, pretending the Rebels and their assistants, and free their riches into these religious houses (as into places priviledged conveyed from seazure) to defraud him thereof.

Besides this, he made all Bishopricks, and Abbyes that held Barronies (before that time free from all secular services) contributary to his warres, and his other occasions. And this may be the cause why they, who then onely held the Pen (the Scepter, that rules over the memorie of Kings) have laid such an eternall imposition upon his name, of rigour, oppression, and even

even barbarous immanitie, as they have done. When the nature and necessary disposition of his affayres (being as he was) may advocate for him, and in many things much excuse his courses. But this name of Conquest, which ever imports violence and misety, is of so harsh a sound, and so odious in nature, as a people subdued cannot give a Conqueror his due (how ever worthy) and especially to a stranger, whom onely time must naturalize, and incorporate by degrees, into their liking and opinion. And yet therein this King was greatly advantaged, by reason of his twenty yeares government, which had much impaired the Memory of former Customes, in the yonger sort, and well injured the elder to the present usances and forme of State, whereby the rule was made more easie to his sonnes: who (though they were farre inferior to him in worth) were somewhat better beloved, than he, and the rather, for that their occasions made them, somewhat to unwrest the Sovereignty from that height, whereunto he had strayed it.

Now he was underset with able Ministers for the managing of these great affaires of his, though time hath shut us out from the knowledge of some of them (it being in the Fortune of Kings, to have their Ministers like Rivers in the Ocean, buried in their glory,) yet no doubt, being of a strong constitution of judgement, he could not but be strongly furnished in that kind; for weake Kings have ever weake sides, and the most renowned Princes are alwayes best stored with able Ministers. The principall of highest imployment, were Odon, Bishop of Bayeux, and the Earle of Kent: Lanfranc Archibishop of Canterbury, and William Fitz-Auber, Earle of Hereford: Odon supplied the place of Viceroy in the Kings absence, and had the management of the Treasuries: A man of a wide and agile spirit, let out into as spacious a concept of greatness, as the heighth of his place could shew him: And is rumored by the infinite accumulation of mony (which his avarice and length of office had made) either to buy the Popedom, or to purchase the people of England upon the death of the King his brother: who (understanding hee had a purpose of going to Rome, and seeing a mighty confluence of Followers gathering unto him) made a close prifon stay his journey: excusing it to the Church, that he imprisoned not a Bishop of Bayeux, but an Earle of Kent, an Officer accomptant unto him. Yet upon his death-bed shortly following (after many obsecrations, that he would, in respect of blood and nature, be a kind mean for the future peace of his sons) he released him.

But the Bishop failed his request therein, and became the onely kindle-fire to set them all into more furious combustion. The motive of his discontent (the engine wherewith all Ambition evermore turnes about her intentions) was the envy he bare to Lanfranc, whose counsell, in his greatest Affaires, the King especially used: and to oppose and over-beare him, hee tooke all the contrary courses, and part with Robert, his Nephew, whom (after many fortunes) he attended to the holy Warre, and dyed in the siege of Antioch.

Lanfranc was a man of as universall goodnessse, as learning, borne in Lombardy, and came happily a stranger, in these strange times to doe good to England; upon whose obseruance, though the King might (in regard hee raised him) lay some tye, yet his affections could not but take part with his piety and place: in so much as he feared not to oppose against Odon the Kings brother, seeking to gripe from the State of his Church; and in all he could, stood so betweene the Kingdome and the Kings rigor, as stayed many precipitious violences, that he (whose power lay as wide as his will) might else have fallen into. For the Conquerour (howsoever austere to others) was to him alwayes milde and yeelding, as if subdued with gravity and vertue.

His Coun-
cellors.

The Bishop
of Bayeux as
an Earle of
Kent, commit-
ted to Prison.

Reserved for
greater mis-
chike.

Lanfranc.

The reformation
of the Clergy by
Lancfranc.

He reformed the irregularity, and rudenesse of the Clergy, introducing a more Southerne formality and respect, according to his breeding, and the Custome of his Country : concurring herein likewise to be an Actor of alteration (though in the best kinde) with this change of State. And to give entertainment to devotion, he did all he could to furnish his Church with the most exquisite ornaments might be procured: added a more State and convenience to the structure of religious houses, and beganne the Founding of Hospitals. Having long struggled, with indefatigable labour, to hold things in an even course, during the whole Reigne of this busie new State-building King: and after his Death, seeing his Successour in the Crowne (established especially by his meanes) to fayle his expectation; out of the experience of worldly causes, divining of future mischieves by present courses, grew much to lament (with his Friends) the tediousnesse of life, which shortly after hee mildly left, with such a sicknesse, as neither hindred his speach nor memory: a thing he would often desire of God.

William Fitz Auber (as is delivered) was a principall Counsellor and instrument in this action for *England*; wherein he furnished forty ships at his owne charge. A man of great meanes; yet of a heart greater, and a hand larger than any meanes would well suffice. His profuse liberalities to men of armes, gave often sharpe offence to the King, who could not endure any such improvident expences. Amongst the Lawes hee made (which shewes the power these Earles then had in their Provinces) he ordyned, *That in the County of Hereford, no man of warre (or soldier) shoulde fined for any offence whatsoeuer above scaven shillings*; when in other Countries, upon the least occasion of disobeying their Lords will, they were forced to pay 20. or 25. shillings. But his estate seeming to beare no proportion with his minde, and enough it was not to be an eminent Earle, an especiall Counsellor in all the affaires of *England* and *Normandy*, a chiefe Favorite to so great a Monarch, but that larger hopes drew him away; designing to marry *Richeld*, Countesse Dowager of *Flanders*, and to have the government of that Country, during the non-age of *Arnulph* her son, of whom, with the King of *France*, he had the tutelary charge committed by *Baldouin* the sixth, Father to *Arnulph*; whose estate *Robert le Frison* his uncle (called by the people to the government, upon the exactions inflicted on them by *Richeld*) had usurped. And against him *Fitz Auber* opposing, was with *Arnulph* surprized and slaine.

And this was in the Fate of the Conqueror, to see most of all these great men, who had beeene the especiall Actors in all his Fortunes, spent and extinct before him; *As Beaumont, Monfort, Harcourt, Hugh de Gourney, Vicount Neile, Hugh de Mortimer, Conte de Vannes, &c.* And now himselfe, after his being brought sicke to *Rouan*, and there disposing his estate, ended also his act in the 74. yeare of his age, and the one and twenty of his Reigne.

Three dayes the Corpes of this great Monarch is sayd to have laine neglected, while his servants attending to imbeasle his moveables: in the end, his yongest sonne *Henry*, had it conveyed to the Abbey of *Cane*; where first at the entry into the Towne, they who carried the Corpes, left it alone, and ran to quench a house on fire: Afterward brought to bee intombed, a Gentleman stands forth, and in sterner manner, forbids the interment in that place, claiming the ground to be his Inheritance, descended from his Ancestors, and taken from him at the building of that Abbey; appealing to *Row*, their first Founder for Justice: Whereupon, they were faine to compound with him for an Annually rent. Such a doe had the body of him after death (who had

William Fitz Auber
Earle of Hereford
made Lawes
in his Province.

The death of
William the
first.

His Corpes
lay unburied
three dayes.

His interment
hindred.

had made so much in his life) to be brought to the earth; and of all he attai ned, had not now a roomie to containe him, without being purchased at the hand of another, menesteeming a living Dog more than a dead Lyon.

His Issue.

He had a faire Issue by *Maud* his wife, fourt sonnes, and six daughters. To *Robert* his eldest, he left the Dutchy of *Normandy*: to *William* the third son, the Kingdome of *England*: to *Henry* the yongest, his treasure, with an annuall pension to be payd him by his Brother. *Richard* who was his second sonne, and his darling, a Prince of great hope, was slaine by a Stagge hunting in the new Forrest, and began the fatalnesse that followed in that place, by the death of *William* the second, there slain with an arrow; and of *Richard* the sonne of *Robert Duke of Normandy*, who brake his necke.

His eldest daughter *Citile*, became a Nun; *Constance* married to the Earle of *Brittaine*; *Adula* to *Stephen Earle of Bloys*, who likewise rendred her selfe a Nun in her age; such was then their devotion, and so much were these solitary retires affected by the greatest Ladies of those times: *Gundred* married to *William de Warren*, the first Earle of *Surry*, the other two, *Ela* or *Adeliza* and *Margaret* dyed before marriage.

Now, what he was in the circle of himselfe in his owne continent, we finde him of an even stature, comely personage, of good presence, riding, sitting or standing, till his corpulency increasing with age, made him somewhat unwieldy, of so strong a constitution, as he was never sickly till a few moneths before his death. His strength such, as few men could draw his Bow, and being about 50. of his age, when he subdued this Kingdome, it seemes by his continual actions, hee felt not the weight of yeares upon him till his last yeare.

What was the composition of his minde; we see it (the fairest) drawne in his actions, and how his abilities of Nature, were answerable to his undertakings of Fortune, as pre-ordained for the great work he effected. And though he might have some advantage of the time, wherein wee often see men preuale more by the imbecility of others, than their owne worth; yet let the season of that world be well examined, and a just measure taken out of his active vertues, they will appeare of an exceeding proportion: Nor wanted he those encounters and concurrences of sufficient able Princes, to put him to the triall thereof: Having on one side the *French* to grapple withall; on the other the *Danes*, far mightier in people and shipping than himselfe, strongly sided in this Kingdome, as eager to recover their former footing here, as ever, and as well or better prepared.

For his devotion and mercy, the brightest Starres in the Spheare of Maje sty, they appear above all his other vertues, and the due observation of the first, the Clergy (that loved him not) confess: the other was seene, in the often pardoning, and receiving into grace, those (who rebelled against him) as if he held submission satisfactory, for the greatest offence, and fought not to defeat men, but their enterprizes: For we finde but one Noble man executed in all his Reigne, and that was the Earle *Waltheof*, who had twice falsified his Faith before: and those he held prisoners in *Normandy*, as the Earles *Morchar* and *Syward*, with *Wolnoth*, the brother of *Harold*, and o thers (upon compassion of their indurance) he released a little before his death.

Besides, he was as farre from suspition, as cowardize, and of that confidence (an especiall note of his Magnanimity) as he gave *Edgar* his Competitor in the Crowne, the liberty of his Court: And (upon his suite) sent him well furnishit to the holy War, where he nobly behaved himselfe, and attay ned to great estimation, with the Emperours of *Greece* and *Almaine*; which might

The description
of *William* the first.

His devotion
and mercy.

But one Noble man executed in all the time of this Kings Reigne.

The Life and Reigne of William the second.

His works
of Piety.

might have beeene held dangerous in respect of his alliances that way, being grand-child to the Emperour Henry the third. But these may be as well vertues of the Time, as of Men, and so the age must have part of this commendations.

He was a Benefactor to nine Abbeys of Monkes, and one of Nunneres, founded by his Predecessors in Normandy, and during his owne time were founded in the same Province, seven Abbeys of Monkes and six of Nunneres; with which Fortresses (as he sayd) hee furnisht Normandy, to the end men might therein fight against the flesh, and the Divell. In England he founded a goodly Abbey, where he fought his first Battell, whereof it had the Denomination; and two Nunneries, one at Hinching-brooke in Huntingdon-shire, and the other at Armathewt in Cumberland, besides his other publique works.

Magnificent he was in his Festivals, which with great solemnity and Ceremony (the formall entayniers of reverence and respect) he duly observed: Keeping his Christmas at Gloucester, his Easter at Winchester, and Pentecost at Westminster: whither he summoned his whole Nobility; that Embassadors and strangers might see his State and largesse. Nor ever was he more milde and indulgent, than at such times. And these Ceremonies his first Successor observed; but the second omitted.

The end of the Life, and Reigne of William the first.

The Life and Reigne of William the second.

1087.
Anno
Reg. I.

William the second, sonne to William the first, not attending his Fathers Funeral, haste into England to recover the Crowne, where (by the especiall mediation of the Arch-Bishop Lanfranc, his owne large bounty, and wide promises) hee obtained it, according to his Fathers will; to whom by his obsequiousnesse hee had much indeareed himselfe, especially after the abdication of his elder brother Robert. Hee was a Prince more gallant than good, and having beeene bred with the Sword, alwayes in action, and on the better side of Fortune, was of a Nature rough and haughty, whereunto, his youth and Soveraignty added a greater wildenesse. Comming to succeede in a Government, fore-ruled by Maturity and grave Counsell, he was so over-whelmed with his Fathers worth and greatnessse, as made him appeare of a lesser Orbe than otherwise hee would have done. And then the shottnesse of his Reigne, being but of thirteene yeares, allowed him not time to recover that opinion, which the errors of the first government had lost, or his necessities caused him to commit. For the succession in right of Primogeniture, being none of his, and the elder brother living: howsoever his Fathers will was, hee must now bee put, and held in possession of the Cowne of England, by the Will of the Kingdome; which to purchase (must be) by large conditions of releevements in generall, and profuse gifts in particular. Wherein hee had the more to doe, being to deale with a State consisting of a two-fold body, and different temperaments (where any inflammation of discontent, was the more apt to take,) having a head whereunto it might readily gather. Which made, that unless he would lay more to their hopes than another, hee could not hope to have them firmly his. And therefore seeing the best way to win the Normans, was by money, and the English, with liberties, he spared not at first, to bestow on the one, & to promise the other, more than besifted his estate and dignity; which, when afterward failing, both in supplies (for great givers must alwayes give)

The Life and Reigne of William the second.

give) and also in performances, got him farre more hattred than otherwise he could ever have had, being forced to all dishonorable shifts for raysing monyes that could be devised, and even to resume his owne former grants.

And to begin at first to take the course to be ever needy, presently after his Coronation, he goes to Winchester, where his Fathers Treasure lay, and empties out all that, which with great providence was there amassed: whereby, though hee wonne the love of many, hee lost more, being not able to content all. And now although his brother Robert had not (this great engine) money, he had to give hopes; and there were heere of the Normans, as Odon his Nuncle, Roger de Montgomery Earle of Shrewsbury, with others, who were mainly for him, and workes he doth all he can, to batter his brothers fortunes upon their first foundation. And for this purpose borrows great summes of his younger brother Henry (to whom the Father & the Mother had left much treasure) and for the same, ingages the Country of Constantine, and leavies an army for England. But William newly invested in the Crowne, though well prepared for all assaults, had rather purchase a present peace (by mediation of the Nobles on both sides) till time had better settled him in his government than to raile spirits that could not easily be allayed. And an agreement betwene them is wrought, that William should hold the Crowne of England during his life, paying to Robert three thousand markes *Per annum*.

Robert, having clost this busynesse, resumes by force the Country of Constantine, out of his brother Henrys hands, without discharge of those summes, for which he had ingaged it. Whereupon King William upbraids Henry (with the great gaine he had made by his usury) in lending mony to deprive him of his Crowne. And so Henry got the hatred of both his brothers, and having no place safe from their danger where to live, surprized the Castle of Mount Saint Michel, fortifies him therein, gets ayde of Hugh Earle of Brittaine, and for his mony was served with brittaines, who committed great spoyles in the Countreyes of Constantine and Bevin.

Odon, Bishop of Bayeux, returning into England, after his imprisonment in Normandy, and restored to his Earldome of Kent, finding himselfe so far uncountell with the King, complots with as many Norman Lords as he found, or made to affect change, and a new maister, and sets them on worke in divers parts of the Realme, to distract the Kings Forces: as first Geffery Bishop of Constantine, with his Nephew Robert de Montray Earle of Northumberland, fortifie themselves in Bristow, and take in all the Country about: Roger de Bigod, made himselfe strong in Northfolke: Hughe de Grandemorell about Lycester: Roger de Montgomery Earle of Shrewsbury with a power of Welshmen, and other thereabout, sets out accompanied with William Bishop of Durham, Bernard de Newmarch, Roger Lacie, and Ralph Mortimer all Normans, and assaile the City of Worcester, making themselves strong in those parts. Odon himselfe fortifies the Castle of Rochester, makes good all the Coasts of Kent, solicits Robert to use what spedde he could to come with all his power out of Normandy, which had he done in time, and not given his brother so large opportunity of prevention, he had carried the Kingdome; but his delay yeelds the King time to confirme him Friends, under worke his enemies, and make himselfe strong with the English, which hee did by granting relaxation of tribute, with other releevements of their doleances, and restoring them to their former freedom of hunting in all his woods and Forrests; a thing they much esteemed, whereby he made them so strongly his, as soone hee brake the necke of all the Norman conspiracies (they being egge to revenge them)

William the
second re-
sumes his
owne Grants.

Robert of
Normandy
borrows
summes of his
brother Hen-
ry to purchase
the kingdome
of England.

Odon for
malice to Lan-
franc, seekes
to distract the
Kings forces.

The King
underworks
his enemies,
by releasing
the felonies,
and granting
former free-
domes for the
English.

1088.
Anno
Reg. 2.

them of that Nation) and here they learned first to beat their Conquerors, having the faire advantage of this action, which cut the throates of many of them.

Mongomery, being won from his complices, and the severall conspirators in other parts, represt, the King comes with an Army into Kent, where the head of the Faction lay, and first wonne the Castle of Tunbridge, and that of Penssey, which Odon was forced to yeeld, and promise to caue those which defended that of Rochester, which were Eustace Earle of Bologne, and the Earle of Mortaigne, to render likewise the same. But being brought thither to effect the busynesse, they within, receiving him, detained him, as he pretended, prisoner, and held out stoutly against the King upon a false intelligence given of the arrivall of Duke Robert at Southampton; but in the end they were forced to quit the place, and to retire into France, and Odon to abare England.

And to keepe off the like danger from hence, he transports his Forces into Normandy, there to waste and weaken his brother at home. So, as hee might hold him from any further attempts abroad for ever after. Where first he obtaines Saint Valery, and after Albemarle with the whole Country of Eu, Fescampe, the Abbacie of mount Saint Michel, Cherburge, and other places. Robert seekes aide of Phillip King of France, who comes downe with an army, into Normandy; but overcome with the power of money wherewith King William assayled him, did hit little good, and so retired.

Whereupon Duke Robert, in the end, was driven to a dishonourable peace, concluded at Caen, with these Articles. First, that King William shuld hold the Country of Eu, Fescampe, and all other places which he had bought, and were delivered unto him by William Earle of Eu, and Steven Earle of Aumal, sisters sonne to William the first. Secondly, he shoulde hide the Duke to recover all other peeces which belonged to his Father, and were usurped from the Dutchy. Thirdly, that such Normans, as had lost their estates in England, by taking part with the Duke, shoulde be restored therewerto. Fourthly, that the survivor of either of them shoulde succeede in the Dominions both of England & Normandy. After this peace made by the mediation of the King of France, whilst William had a strong Army in the field, Duke Robert requested his ayde against their brother Henry, who still kept him in the Fort of Michel, upon his guard, holding it best for his safety: For being a Prince that could not subsist of himselfe (as an earthen vessell set amongst iron pots) he was every way in danger to be crusht; and seeing he had lost both his brothers by doing the one a kindnesse, if he shoulde have tooke to either (their turne being serv'd) his owne might be in hazard: and so betooke him to this defence. Forty dayes the two Princes layd siedge to this Castle; and one day, as the King was alone on the shore, there fellies out of the Fort, a Company of horses, whereof three ran at him so violently, and all strooke his horse together with their Lauces; as they brake pectorall, girdles, and all, that the horse slips away, and leaves the King, and the Saddle on the ground: the King takes up the saddle with both hands, and therewith defends himselfe till rescue came; and being blamed by some of his people for putting himselfe thus in perill of his life to save his saddle, answered: It would have angred him, the Bretons should have bragged, they had wonne the saddle from under him; and how great an indignity it was, for a King to suffer inferiors to force aby thing from him.

In the end Henry grew to extreme want of drinke and water; although he had all other provision sufficient within his Fort, and sends to Duke Robert that he might have his necessity supplied. The Duke sends him a Tun of wine,

Duke Robert
driven to
peace.

1089
Anno
Reg. 3.
1091.
Anno
Reg. 4.

The Kings
undaunted
valor.

The King and
his two bre-
thren agreed.

wine, and grants him truce for a day to furnish him with water. Wherewith William being displeased, Duke Robert told him: It was hard to deny a brother meat and drinke which craved it; and that if he perisht, they had not a brother. Wherewith William likewise relenting, they sent for Henry, and agreement is made: That he shoulde hold in mortgaze the country of Constantine till she money was payd, and a day appointed to receive it at Rouen.

Which accord King William the rather wrought, to draw as much from Robert as he might, whom by this voyage he not onely had wasted, but possest himselfe of a safe and continual landing place, with a part of his Dutchy; and caused him to put from him, and banish out of Normandy, Edgar Atheling, whom Robert held his Pensioner, and as a stone in his hand, upon all occasions to threaten William with another's right, if his owne prevailed not: And besides, hee wrought so, as eyther through promise of mony, or some farther ratification to bee made here, he brought his brother Robert with him over into England, and tooke him along in an expedition against Malcolm, who had incroched upon his territories, during his absence. Whiche busynesse being determined without battell, Robert, soone after returnes much discontented into Normandy, and as it seemes, without mony to suffice his brother Henry: Who repairing to Rouen at a day appointed, instead of receiving it, was committed to prison, and before he could be released, forced to renounce the Country of Constantine, and swere never to claime any thing in Normandy.

Henry complaines of this grosse injustice, to Phillip King of France, who gave him a faire entertainment in his Court. Where he remained not long, but that a Knight of Normandy named Hatchard, undertaking to put him into a Fort (maugre his brother Robert) within the Dutchy, conveyed him disguised out of the Court, and wrought so, as the Castle Dampfris was delivered unto him: whereby shortly after, he got all the Country of Puffays, Richard de Rivieres, and Roger de Manneville.

Duke Robert levies Forces, and eagerly wrought to recover Dampfris, but finding how Henry was underset, inveighs against the perfidie of his brother of England: in so much as the flame of rancor burst out againe more than ever. And over passes King William with a great armie, but rather to terrifie, than to doe any great matter, as a Prince that did more contend than war: and would be great with the sword, yet seldeine desirous to use it; if he could get to his ends by any other meanes, seeking rather to buy his peace than win it.

Many skirmishes interpassed, with surprisements of Castles; but in the end a treaty of peace was propounded: whetein to make his conditions, what he would: King William seemes hard to be wrought, and makes the more shew of force; sending over into England for an Army of thirty thousand men, which being brought to the shoare, ready to be shipp'd: an offer was to be proclaimed by his Lievtenant, that giving ten shillings a man, whosoever would, might depart home to his dwelling; whereby was raised so much as discharged his expence, and served to see the King of France, under-hand, for his forbearing ayde to Duke Robert, who seeing himselfe left by the French, must needs make his peace as the other would have it.

Now for his affaires at home, the uncertaine wares with Wales and Scotland, gave him more busynesse than honour. Being driven in the one to encounter with mountaines in stead of men, to the great losse and disadvantage of his people; and in the other with as many necessities. Wales hee fought to

1092.
Anno
Reg. 5.

Duke Robert
commits his
brother Hen-
ry to prison.

1093.
Anno
Reg. 6.

The Life and Reigne of William the second.

1048.
Anno
Reg. 7.

The King of
Scots and his
sonne Edward
slaine, causes
Queen Margaret
to dye
with griesse.
Roger Hoveden

1085.
Anno
Reg. 7.

to subdue Scotland so to restraine, as it might not hurt him. For the last, after much broule, both Kings seeming more willing to have peace than to seeke it, are brought to an interview: *Malcolm* upon publicke faith, and safe conduct, came to *Glocester*; where, upon the haughtiness of King *William*, looking to be satisfied in all his demands, and the unyeeldingnesse of King *Malcolm*, standing upon his regality within his owne, though content to bee ordered for the confines, according to the judgement of the primate of both Kingdomes; nothing was effected, but a greater disdaine, and rankor of *Malcolm*, seeing himselfe despised, and scarce looked on by the King of *England*. So that upon his returne armed with rage; hee raises an Army, enters *Northumberland*, which foure times before hee had depopulated; and now the fifth, seeking utterly to destroy it, and to have gone farther, was with his eldest sonne *Edward* slaine, rather by fraude than power of *Robert Mowbray* Earle of that Country: The griefe of whose death, gave *Margaret*, that blessed Queen hers. After whom, the State elected *Dafnald*, brother to *Malcolm*, and chased out all the *English*, which attended the Queen, and were harbored, or preferred by *Malcolm*. King *William* to set the line right, and to have a King there which should be beholding to his power, aides *Edgar*, the second sonne to *Malcolm* (who had served him in his wars) to obtaine the Crowne due unto him in right of succession: by whose meanes *Dafnald* was expell, and the State received *Edgar*, but killed all the ayde hee brought with him out of *England*, and capitulated that he should never certayne *English* or *Norman* in his service.

This busynesse settled; *Wales* strugling for liberty, and revenge, gave new occasion of worke: whither he went in person, with purpose to depopulate the Country: but they retiring into the Mountaines and the Isle of *Anglesey*) avoyded the present fury. But afterward, *Hugh* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and *Hugh* Earle of *Chester*, surprizing the Isle (their chiefest retreat) committing there barbarous examples of cruelty, by execucations, and miserable dismembryng the people; which immanity, was there suddenly avenged on the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, with a double death, first shot into the eye, and then tumbling over boord into the Sea, to the sport and scorne of his enemy the King of *Norway*, who either by chance, or of purpose, comming upon that coast from taking in the *Orcades*, encountered with him and that Force he had at Sea.

These were the remote busynesses, wherin a conspiracie broake out within the body of the Kingdome, completted by *Robert Mowbray* Earle of *Northumberland*, *William d'ou* and many other, which are sayd to have sougth the destruction of the King, and the advancement of *Stephen Earle of Albemare*, his Aunts sonny, to the Crowne; which gave the King more trouble than danger: For by the speedy and maine prosecution of the busynesse (wherein hee used the best strength of *England*) it was soone ended, with the confusion of the undertakers. But it wrought an ill effect in his Nature, by hardening the same to an extreme rigor: for after the feare was past, his wrath, and cruelty were not, but (which is hidous in a Prince) they grew to be numbred amongst incurable diseases.

The Earle was committed to the Castle of *Windsor*, *William d'ou*, at a Councell at *Salisbury*, being overcome in Duell (the course of triall) had his eyes put out, and his privy members cut off. *William de Alverie*, his Sewer, a man of godly personage, and allyed unto him, was condemned to be hanged: though both in his confession to *Osmond the Bishop* there, and to all the people as he passed to his Execution, he left a cleare opinion of his innocency, and the wrong he had by the King.

But

The Life and Reigne of William the second.

But now; whilst these fractures heere at home, the unrepayable breaches abroad (were such) as could give the King no longer assurednesse of quiet, than the attempters would: and that all the Christian World was out, eyther at discord amongst themselves, or in faction, by the schisme of the Church: Pope *Vrb. m.*, assembling a generall Councell at *Clermont* in *Avergne*, to compose the affayres of Christendome, exhorted all the Princes thereof to joyne themselves in Action, for the recovery of the Holy Land, out of the hands of Infidels. Which motion, by the zealous negotiation of *Peter the Hermit of Amiens*; tooke so generally (meeting with the disposition of an active, and religious world) as turned all that flame, which had else consumed each other at home, upon unknowne Nations that undid them abroad.

Such, and so great grew the heate of this action, made by the perswasion of the Iustice thereof, with the State and glory it wold bring on earth, and the assurednesse of Heaven to all the pious undertakers, that none were esteemeed to containe any thing of worth, which would stay behind. Each gives hand to other to leade them along, and example addes number: The forwardnesse of so many great Princes, passing away their whole estates, and leaving all what the dearenesse of their Countrey contained, drew to this warre 300000. men; all which, though in Armes, passed from divers Countries and Ports, with that quietnesse, as they seemed rather Pilgrimes, than Souldiers.

Godfrey of Bouillon, Nephew and Heire to the Duke of *Lorraine*, a Generous Prince, bred in the Warres of the Emperour *Henry the Fourth*, was the first that offered up himselfe to this Famous Voyage; and with him his two Brothers, *Eustace* and *Baudouin*; by whose examples were drawne *Hugh le Grand*, Count de *Vermondois*, brother to *Philip King of France*; *Robert Duke of Normandy*, *Robert le Frison* Earle of *Flanders*: *Stephen Earle of Blois and Chartres*; *Aimar Bishop of Puy*; *William Bishop of Orange*: *Raimond Earle of Thoulouse*: *Baudouin Earle of Hainaut*: *Baudouin Earle of Rethel*; and *Garmer Earle of Gretz*: *Herpin Earle of Bourges*; *Tsoard Earle of Die*: *Rambaud Earle of Orange*: *Guillaum Count de Forreys*: *Stephen Count d'Aumau*: *Hugh Earle of S. Pol*: *Rotron Earle of Perche*, and others. These were for *France*, *Germany* and the Countries adjoyning. *Italy* had *Bohemond Duke of Apulia*; and *England*, *Beauchamp* with others, whose names are lost: *Spaine* only had none; being afflicted at that time with the *Sarazins*.

Most of all these Princes and great Personages, to furnish themselves for this expedition, sold, or ingaged their possessions. *Godfrey* sold the Dutchy of *Bologne* to *Hubert Bishop of Leige*; and *Metz* to the Citizens: Besides, he sold the Castle of *Sarteny*, and *Monsa*, to *Richard Bishop of Verdun*; and to the same Bishop, *Baudouin* his brother sold the Earledome of *Verdun*. *Eustace* likewise sold all his livelyhood to the Church: *Herpin Earle of Bourges*, his Earledome to *Phillip King of France*; and *Robert* morgaged his Dutchy of *Normandy*, the Earledome of *Maine*, and all hee had, to his brother King *William of England*. Whereby the Pope not onely weakened the Empire, with whom the Church had (to the great affliction of Christendome) held a long and bloody busynesse, about the investitures of Bishops; tooke away and infeebleth his partisans, abated, as if by *Ostracisme*, the power of any Prince that might oppose him; but also advanced the State Ecclesiastically, by purchasing these great Temporalities, (more honorable for the sellers than the buyers) unto a greater meanes than ever. For by advising the undertakers, seeing their action was for *CHRIST* and his Church, rather to make over their

*Peter the Hermit gets
300000. men
to recover the
Holy Land;*

1097.

Anno
Reg. IO

The Life and Reigne of William the second.

their estates to the Clergy, of whom they might againe redeeme the same, and be sure to have the fairest dealing, than unto Lay-men; he effected this worke. Whereby the third part of the best Fiefs in France came to be possest by the Clergy; and afterwards upon the same occasion, many things more unto them in England, especially when Richard the first undertooke the voyage, who passed over divers Mannors to Hugh Bishop of Durham (and alio, for his mony) created him Earle of Durham, as appeares in his life.

An Emperour of Germany, two Kings of France with their wives, a King of Norway went all thither in person.

This humour was kept up, and in motion almost 300. yeares, notwithstanding all the discouragement, by the difficulties passing, the disasters there through the contagion arising from a disagreeing clime; and the multitudes of indigent people, cast oftentimes into miserable wants. It consumed infinite Treasure, and most of the bravest men of all our West world, and especially France. For Germany and Italy, those who were the Popes friends, and would have gone, were stayed at home by dispensation to make good his partie against the Emperour, who notwithstanding still strugled with him, but in the end, by this meanes the Pope prevailed. Yet these were not all the effects this voyage wrought: The Christians who went out to seeke an enemy in Asia, brought one thence; to the danger of all Christendome, and the losse of the fairest part thereof. For this long keeping it in a Warre, that had many intermissions with fits of heats and coldnesse (as made by a league, consisting of severall Nations, emulous and unecurrent in their courses) taught such as were of an entire body, their weaknesses, and the way to Conquer them. This was the great effect, this voyage wrought.

And by this meanes King William here was now rid of an elder brother, and a Competitor; had the possession of Normandy during his reigne and more absolutenesse, and irregularity in England. Where now, in making up this great summe to pay Robert, he used all the extreame meanes could be devised: As he had done in all like businesses before. Whereby he incurred the hatred of his people in general, and especially of the Clergy, being the first King which shewed his successors an evill precedent of keeping their Livings vacant, and receiving the profits of them himselfe, as he did that of Canterbury, four yeares after the death of Lanfranc; and had holden it longer, but that being dangerously sicke at Gloucester, the sixt yeare of his Reigne, his Clergy, in the weakenesse of his body, tooke to worke upon his minde, so as he vowed, upon his recovery to see all vacancies furnished; which hee did, but with so great adoe, as shewed that having escaped the danger hee would willingly have deceived the Saint: And Anselme, an Italian borne, though bred in Normandy, is in the end preferred to that Sea. But, what both with his owne stiffnessse, and the Kings standing on his regalitie, hee never enjoyed it quietly under him. For betweene them two, began the first contestation about the investitures of Bishops, and other priviledges of the Church, which gave much to doe, to many of his successors. Anselme not yeelding to the Kings will forsooke the Land; whereupon his Bishopricke was re-assumed; and the King held in his hands at one time, besides that of Canterbury, the Bishoprickes of Winchester, Sarum, and eleven Abbeys, whereof he tooke all the profits.

He usually sold all spirituall preferments to those would give most, and tooke fines of Priests for Fornication: he vexed Robert Bluet Bishop of Lincoln in suite, till he payd him 5000. pound. And now the Clergy, upon this taxe, complaing their wants, were answered, *That they had Shrines of gold in their Churches, and for so holy a worke as this warre against infidels, they shold not spare them.* He also tooke money of Iewes, to cause such of them as were converted

1099
Anno
Reg. 12

The Kings
flew of Re-
ligion.

The Life and Reigne of William the second.

converted, to renounce Christianity, as making more benefit by their unbelife, than by their conversion. Wherein hee discovered the worst pece of his nature, Irreligion.

Besides his great taxations layd on the Layety, hee sets informers upon them, and for small transgressions made great penalties. These were his courses for raysing moneys, wherein he fayled not of fit ministers to execute his Will, among whom was chiefe, Ranulph Bishop of Durham, whom he had corrupted with other Bishops, to counterpoise the Clergy, awe the Layety, and countenance his proceedings. All which meanes, he exhausted, eyther in his buildings (which were the new Castle upon Tine, the City of Carlile, Westminster-Hall, and the walles of the Tower of London) or else in his prodigall gifts to strangers. Twice hee appeased the King of France with mony, and his Profusion was such, as put him evermore into extreme wants.

This one Act, shewes both his violence and magnanimity: As he was one day hunting, a Messenger comes in all haste out of Normandy, and tells him how the City of Mans was surprised by Hely Conte de la Flesche, who by his wife pretended right thereunto; and was ayded by Fouques d' Angiers, the ancient enemy to the Dukes of Normandy; and that the Castle which held outvaliantly for him, was, without present succour, to be rendred. He sends backe the Messenger instantly, wils him to make all the speede he could, to signifie to his people in the Castle, that he would be there within eight dayes, if Fortune hindred him not. And suddainly he askes of his people about him, which way Mans lay, and a Norman being by, shewed him: Presently he turnes his Horse towards that Coast, and in great haste rides on: when some advised him to stay for fit provisions, and people for his journey, he sayd; *They who love me, will follow me.* And comming to imbarke at Dartmouth, the Mariners told him the weather was rough, and there was no passing without eminent danger; *Tush, sayd he, set forward, I never yet heard of king that was drowned.*

By beake of day he arrived at Harfleur, sends for his Captaines and men of Warre to attend him all at Mans, whither he came at the day appointed. Conte de la Flesche, having more right than power, after many skirmishes, was taken by a stratagem, and brought prisoner to Rouan; where more infrared, than dismayde with his fortune, he let fall these words; *That had he not beeene taken with a wile, he would have left the King but little Land on that side the Sea; and were he againe at liberty, they should not so easily take him.* Which being reported, the King sent for him, *Set him at liberty, gave him a faire Horse, bade him goe his way, and doe his worst.* Which act overcame the Conte more than his taking, and a quiet end was made between them. That he affected things of cost, even in the smallesst matters (as shewed) in the report of his finding fault with his servant, which brought him a new payre of hose, whereof he demanding the price, was told how they cost three shillings: wherewith being angry hee asked his servant, if that were a fit price of a payre of hose for a King, and willed him to goe presently and to buy those of a Marke; which being brought him, though they were farre worrie, yet he liked them much better in regard they were sayd to have cost more. An example of the Weare of time, the humour of the Prince, and the deceipt of the servant.

The King returns into England with great jollity, as ever bringing home better fortune out of Normandy, than from any his Northerne expeditions: Feasts his Nobility with all Magnificence, in his new Hall lately finished at West-

The antiqui-
ty of Inter-
meters.

This Ranulph
gave a thou-
sand pounds
for his Bi-
shopricke, and
was the Kings
Chancellor.
Profusion e-
ver in want.

The Life and Reigne of Henry the first.

Westminster, wherewith he found much fault for being built too little; saying, *It was fitter for a Chamber, than a Hall for a King of England*, and takes a plot for one farre more spacious to be added unto it. And in this gayetie of State which hee had got about all his businesse, betakes him wholly to the pleasure of peace: and being hunting with his brother *Henry* in the New Forrest, *Walter Terell*, a Norman, and his kinsman, shooting at a Deere (whether mistaking his marke, or not, is uncertaine) strake him to the heart. And so fell this fierce King, in the 43. yeare of his age, when hee had reigned nigh 12. yeares. A Prince, who for the first two yeares of his reigne, whilst held in by the grave Councell of *Lancastre*, and his owne feares) bare himselfe most worthily, and had beeene absolute for State; had he not after sought to be absolute in power, which (meeting with an exorbitant will) makes both Prince and People miserable.

The end of the Life and Reigne of William the second.

The Life, and Reigne of Henry the first.

1100.
Anno
Reg. 1.



ENRT the yongest sonne of *William* the first, being at hand, and borne in *England* (which made much for him) was elected and crowned within foure dayes after his Brothers death; it being given out, that *Robert*, who should have succeeded *William*, was chosen King of *Ierusalem*, and not like to give over that Kingdome for this. Wherefore to settle *Henry* in the possession of the Crowne, all expedition possible was used, lest the report of *Roberts* returning from the Holy Warres (being now in *Apulia*, comming home) might be noyed abroad to stagger the State, which seemed generally willing to accept of *Henry*. The first actions of his governement tended all, to baite the people, and sugar their subjection (as his predecessor) upon the like interposition had done, but with more moderation and advisednesse: This being a Prince better rectified in judgement, and of a Nature more alayed, both by his sufferings, having sighed with other men under the hand of oppression, that taught him patience; and also, by having somewhat of the Booke, which got him opinion, and the Title of *Bauclark*.

First, to fasten the Clergy, He furnisheſt with fit men, all those Vacancies which his brother had kept empty, recalls *Anselme* home to his Bishopricke of *Canterbury*, and restores them to all whatſoever priviledges had beeene infringed by his Predecessour. And for the Layety, He not onely pleased them in their relievemens, but in their passion, by punishing the chife Ministers of their exactiōns, which evermore easeth the spleene of the people, glad to discharge their Princes of the evills done them (knowing how they cannot worke without hands) and lay them on their Officers, who have the active power, where themselves have but the passive onely, and commonly turne as they are mooved.

The ministers of exactiōns punished.

Ralph, Bishop of Durham committed to prison.
Dissolute persons expelled the Court.

Ralph Bishop of *Durham*, chife Counsellor to the late King, a man risen by subtlety of his tongue (from infamis condition, to the highest employments) was committed to a straight and loathsome prison, being fained to have put his maister into all these courses of exactiōn and irregularities, and remaines amongst the examples of perpetuall ignominy. All dissolute persons are expelled the Court: the people easeth of their impositions, and restored to their lights in the night, which after the *Coverfeu Bell* were forbidden them upon great penalty, since the beginning of *William* the first. Many other good orders for the government of the Kingdome are ordayneſt, and besides

The Life and Reigne of Henry the first.

besides to make him the more popular and beloved, hee matches in the Royall blood of *England*, taking to wife *Maud*, daughter of *Margueret*, late Queen of *Scots*, and Neece to *Edward Atheling*, descended from *Edmond Ironſide*. A Lady that brought with her the inheritance of goodness she had from a blessed mother, and with much adoe was won from her Cloyster, and her vow to God, to descend to the world, and be a wife to a King.

Thus stood he entrenched in the State of *England*, when his brother *Robert*, returning from the Holy Warres, and received with great applause into his Dutchy of *Normandy*, shooke the ground of all this businesſe; the first yeare threatening, the ſecond, arriving with a ſtrong Army at *Portsmouth*, to recover the Crowne, appertaining to him by the course of ſucceſſion, having a mighty party in *England* of the *Norman* Nobility; who eyther mooved with Conscience of their discontent (a ſickenesse rising of ſelfe opinion, and over expectation) made any light occation the motive of revolt. The Armies on both ſides meeſt, and are ready to encounter, when, for avoyding Christian blood, a treaty of peace was mooved, and in the end concluded with theſe Articles: 1. That ſeeing *Henry* was borne ſince his father was King of *England*, which made him the eldeſt ſonne of a King, though the laſt of a Duke, and now invested in the Crowne by the act of the Kingdome, he ſhould enjoy the ſame during his life, paying to *Robert* three thouſand markes per annum. 2. And *Robert*, ſurviving, to ſucceed him. 3. That all, who had taken part with *Robert* ſhould have their pardons, and receive no detriment.

This businesſe thus fairely paſſed ouer, *Robert* of a Generous and Free Nature stayes and Feaſts with his brother here in *England*, from the begining of August till Michaelmas, and then returns into *Normandy*. When *Henry*, ridde of this feare, takes to a higher ſtraine of Regality, and now stands upon his Prerogatiue, for the iuſtice of Bifhops, and collation of other Ecclesiatiſtiall estates, within his Kingdome, oppugned by *Anſelme*, who refuſed to conſecrate ſuch as he preferred, alledging it to be a violation of the ſacred Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, lately decreed concerning this businesſe: in ſo much as the King diſpatches an Ambaſſage to Pope *Paſchal*, with declaration of the right he had to ſuch iuſtice, from his Predeceſſours the Kings of *England*, who evermore conſered the ſame without interruption, till now of late.

Anſelme followes after theſe Ambaſſadours, goe likewiſe to *Rome*, to make good the opposition. The King baniſhes him the Kingdome, and takes into his hands his Bishopricke. The Pope stands ſtily to the power assumed by the Church, but in the end, ſeeing the King ſtill ſtrong, and lay too farre off out of his way to bee conſtrayned (and having much to doe at that time with the Emperor and other Princes, about the ſame businesſe) takes the way of perwiſion to draw him to his will, folliſching him with kind letters, full of profeſtations, to further any deſignes of his that might concerne his State if he would defit from this proceeding.

The King preſt with ſome other occaſions, that held him in, and having purpoſes of that Nature, as by forbearance of the Church, might bee the better effected; conſents to ſatisfie the Popes will; and becomes an example to other Princes, of yeelding in this caſe. *Anſelme* is re-called, after a yeares baniſhment, and the Ambaſſadours returne with large remunerations.

Whiſt theſe things were managing at *Rome*, there burst out here a flame, which

Robert Duke of Normandy returns from the Holy Warre.

1101.
Anno
Reg. 8.

The agreement between Henry and his brother.

1102.
Anno
Reg. 3.

Anſelme claims the iuſtice of Bifhops.
Anſelme oppugnes the Kings prerogatiue.
The King ſends to the Pope.

1103.
Anno
Reg. 4.

Anſelme follows.

The King and *Anſelme* accordeſt.

The Earle of
Shrewsbury's
combination

1104.
Anno
Reg. 5.

1105.
Anno
Reg. 6.

which consumed the parties that raised it, & brought the King more easily to his ends, than otherwise he ever could have expected. *Robert de Belesme*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, son to *Roger de Montgomery* (a very fierce youth) presuming of his great estate, and his Friends, fortifies his Castles of *Shrewsbury*, *Briagenorth*, *Tickhill* and *Arundell*; with some other pieces in *Wales* belonging to him; and combines with the *Welch*, to oppose against the present State (out of a desire to set all in combustion, for his owne ends, that were altogether uncertaine;) which put the King to much traveill and charge; but, within thirty dayes, by employing great forces, and terrors mixt with promises, he scattered his complices, and tooke all his Castles; except that of *Arundell*, which rendred upon condition, that the Maister might be permitted to retire safe into *Normandy*; which the King easily granted, seeing now hee was but the body of a silly naked Creature, that had lost both Feathers and Wings. And it made well for the King, his going thither. For, from the losing of his owne estate in *England*, and thereby advancing the Kings revenues, hee goes to lose *Normandy* also, and brings it to this Crowne. For, as soone as hee came thither, hee fastens alway with one of like condition and Fortunes as himselfe (an exiled man,) whose insolency had likewise stript him out of all his estate in *England*; and much wasted that in *Normandy*, which was *William Earle of Mortaigne*, sonne to *Robert*, halfe brother to King *William the first*. Who being also Earle of *Cornwall*, made sure likewise, to have that of *Kent*: which his Uncle *Odon* lately held: but being denied it, and also evicted by Law, of certayne other parcels of Land, which he claimed, retires with great indignation into *Normandy*, where not onely he assualts the Kings Castles, but also usurpes uppon the State of *Richard*, the young Earle of *Chester*, then the Kings Ward. These two Earles combine themselves, and with their Adherents committed many out-ragious actions, to the great spoyle and displeasure of the Countrey, whereof, though they complayned to Duke *Robert*, they found little remedy. For, hee being now growne poore by his out-lavishing humour, began it seemes, to be little respected: or else faine from action, and those greatnesses his expectation had shewed him, was (as comonly great mindes dasht with ill Fortunes are) faine likewise in spirit, and given over to his ease. Whereupon the people of *Normandy* make their exclamations to the King of *England*, who sends for his brother *Robert*, Reprehends him for the sufferance of these disorders; advises him to act the part of a Prince, and not a Monke: and in conclusion, whether by detention of his Pension, or drawing him, being of a facile Nature, to some act of releasing it: sends him home so much discontented, as hee joynes with these mutinous Earles, and by their instigation, was set into that flame, as he raysed all his utmost forces to be revenged on his brother.

The King, touched in Conscience with the foulenesse of a fraternall Warre (which the world would take, hee being the mightier, to proceede out of his designes) stood doubtfull what to doe, when Pope *Pascall*, by his Letters written with that eloquence (faith *Malmesbury*) wherein he was very quicke, perswaded him, That hecinc hee should not make a civill Warre, but doe a Noble and memorable benefit unto his Countrey: Whereby (payd for remitting the Investitures) he held himselfe countenanced in this busynesse; whereon, now he ses with more alacrity and resolution. And after many difficulties, and losse of divers

divers worthy men, in a mighty battaille, neere the Castle of *Tenechbray*, his enemies with much adoe were all defeated. Whereby *England* won *Normandy*, and on the same day, by Computation (wherein forty yeares before) *Normandy* overcame *England*, such are the turnings in the affaires of men.

And here *Robert*, who stood in a faire possibility of two Crownes, came to be deprived of his Dutchy and all he had, brought prisoner into *England*; and committed to the Castle of *Cardiffe*. Where, to adde to his misery, he had the misfortune of a long life (surviving after he lost himselfe 26. yeares) whereof the most part he saw not, having his eyes put out; whereby he was onely left to his thoughts; a punishment barbarously inflicted on him, for attempting an escape.

He was a Prince that gave out to the world, very few notes of his ill, but many of his Noblenesse and valour, especially in his great voyage, wherein he had the second command, and was in election to have beene the first preferred to the Crowne of *Ierusalem*, and missed it hardly. Onely the disobedience in his youth shewed to his Father (which yet might procede from a rough hand borne over him, and the animation of others, rather than his owne Nature) lets a staine upon him: and then, his profusion (which some would have liberality) shewed his impotency, and put him into those courses that overthrew him. All the Revenues of his Dutchy, which should serve for his maintenance, hee sold or engaged, and was upon passing the City of *Roan* unto the Cittizens, which made him held unfit for the government, and gave occasion to his Brother to quarrell with him.

And thus came *Henry* freed from this feare, an absolute Duke of *Normandy*: had many yeares of quiet, gathered great Treasure, and entertained good intelligence with the Neighbour Princes. *Scotland* by his Match, and doing their Princes good, he held from doing him hurt: clearing them from usurpations. *Wales*, though under his Title, yet not subjection, gave him some exercise of action; Which he ordered with great wisdome. First he planted within the body of that Country, a Colony of Flemings, who at that time much pestered this Kingdome: being admitted here in the reigne of King *William the first*, marrying their Countrie-woman, and using their helpe in the action of *England*; where they daily encreased, in such sort, as gave great displeasure to the people. By this meanes, both that grievance was eas'd, and the use of them made profitable to the State: for being so great a number, and a strong people, they made roome for themselves, and held it in that sort, as they kept the *Welch*, all about them, in very good awe. Besides, the King tooke for hostages the chiefe mensons of the Country, and hereby quieted it. For *France* he stood secure, so long as *Philip the first* lived: who, wholly given over to his ease and luxury, was not for other attempts, out of that course: but his son he was to looke unto, whensoeuer hee came to that Crowne.

With the Earle of *Flanders* he had some debate, but it was onely in words; and upon this occasion, King *William the first*, in retribution of the good his father in law, *Baldouin the first* had done, by ayding him in the action of *England*, gave him yearly three hundred markes, and likewise continued it to his sonne after him. Now, *Robert Earle of Flanders*, of a collaterall line, returning empic from the Holy Warres, and finding this summe paide out of *England* to his Predecessors, demands the same of King *Henry*, as his due; who not easie to part with money, sends him word; That it was not the

England wins
Normandy.

*Robert Duke
of Normandy
is imptiloned
by King Hen.*

1106.

*Anno
Reg. 7.*

*King Henry
Duke of Nor-
mandy.*

1107.
*Anno
Reg. 8.*

King Henry
quarrels with
the king of
France.

custome of the Kings of *England* to pay tribute: If they gave pensions, they were temporary, and according to desert. Which answere so much displeased the Earle, that though himselfe lived not to shew his hatred, yet his Son did, and ayded afterward *William*, the sonne of *Robert Curtoys*, in his attempts, for recovery of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, against King *Henry*.

Thus stood this King in the first part of his reigne: in the other, he had more to doe abroad than at home, where he had by his excellent wisedome so settled the government, as it held a steady course without interruption, all his time. But now *Lewis le Grosse*, succeeding his father *Phillip the first*, gave him warning to looke to his State of *Normandy*: and for that he would not attend a quarrell, he makes; taking occasion about the City of *Gisors*, scitu. ate on the River *Epte*, in the confines of *Normandy*, whilst *Louys* wastroubled with a stubborne Nobility, presuming upon their Franchises, within their owne Signories; whereof there were many, at that time about *Paris*, as the Contes of *Crecy*, *Pissaux*, *Dammartins*, *Champagne* and others, who by example, and emulation, would be absolute Lords, without awe of a Maister, putting themselves under the protection of *Henry*; who being neare to assist them, fostred those humors, which in sicke bodies most shew themselves. But after *Louys*, by yeares gathering strength, dissolved that compact, and made his meanes the more, by their cohyscations.

Now to entertaine these two great Princes in work, the quarrell betweene the Pope and the Emperour, ministred fresh occasion. The Emperour *Henry the first*, having (by the Popes instigation) banded against his Father, *Henry the fourth* who associated him in the Empire, and held him prisoner in that distresse, as hee dyed; toucht afterwards with remorse of this act, and reproach of the State, for abandoning the rights of the Empire, leavies sixty thousand foote, and thirty thousand horse, for *Italy*; constraines the Pope and his Colledge to acknowledge the right of the Empire in that forme as *Leo the fourth* had done to *Ostro the second*, and before that, *Adrian to Charlemagne*, according to the Decree of the Councell of *Rome*; and made him take his Oathe of fidelity betweene his hands, as to the true and lawfull Emperour. The Pope, so soone as *Henry* was departed home, assemblies a Councell, nullifies this acknowledgement, as done by force, and shortly after deceased. The Emperour, to make himselfe the stronger against his successors, enters into alliance with the King of *England*, takes to wife his daughter *Maud*, being but 5. yeares of age: after this, *Calixt son of the Comte de Burgogne* comming to be Pope, and being French (unto their great applause) assemblies a Councell at *Reimes*; where, by Ecclesiasticall sentence, *Henry the first* is declared enemy of the Church, and degraded of his Emperiall Dignity. The King of *England*, seeing this Councell was held in *France*, and composed chiefly of the *Gallicane* Church, desirous to over-maister *Louys*, incenstes his sonne in law the Emperour (stung with this disgrace) to set upon him (as the Popes chiefe pillar) on one side, and he would assayle him on the other. The Emperour easily wrought to such a busynesse, prepares all his best forces: the King of *England* doth the like. The King of *France* seeing this storme comming so impetuously upon him, wrought so with the Princes of *Germany*, as they, weighing the future mischiefe of a Warre undertaken in a heate; with the importance of a kinde Neighbour-hood, advise the Emperour not to enter there-into, till hee had signfyed to the King of *France*, the causes of his discontent. Wherupon an Embassage is dispatched: The King of *France* answeres, That he grieved much to see the two greatest Pillars of the Church, thus shaken with these dissentions, whereby might be feared, the whole frame

1108.
Anno
Reg. 6.
The Popes
Oath to the
Emperour.

The Emperor
Henr. 5. marries
Maud.

History of
France.

frame would be ruined: that he was a friend to them both, and would gladly be an inter-dealer for concord, rather than to carry wood to a fire too fierce already, which he desired to extinguish, for the good and quiet of Christendome. This Embassage wrought so, as it dis-armed the Emperour, glad to have *Louys* a mediator of the accord betweene the Pope and him: to the great displeasure of the King of *England*, who expected greater matters to have risen by this busynesse. The accord is concluded at *Wormes*, to the Popes advantage, to whom th' Emperour yeelds up the right of investitures of Bishops and other Benefices. But this was onely to appease, not cure the malady.

The King of *England* disappointed thus of the Emperours assistance, proceeds notwithstanding in his intentions against *Louys*. And seeing he fayled of outward Forces, he sets up a party in his Kingdome, to confront him: ayding *Theobald Comte de Champagne*, with so great power, as he stood to doe him much displeasure: besides, he obtained a strong side in that kingdome, by his alliances: for *Stephen Earle of Bloys*, had married his sister *Adele*, to whom this *Theobald* was brother, and had won *Foulke Earle of Aniou* (an important neighbour, and ever an enemy to *Normandy*) to be his, by matching his sonne *William* to his daughter.

Louys on the other side, fayles not to practise all meanes to under-work *Henry* estate in *Normandy*, and combines with *William Earle of Flanders*, for the restoring of *William*, the sonne of *Robert Curtoys*, to whom the same appertained by right of inheritance, and had the fayrer shew of his actions, by taking hold on the side of Justice.

Great and many were the conflicts of these two Princes, with the expence of much blood and dcharge. But in the end, being both tyred, a peace was concluded, by the mediation of the Earle of *Aniou*. And *William* sonne to King *Henry*, did homage to *Louys* for the Dutchy of *Normandy*; And *William* the son of *Robert Curtoys* is left to himselfe, and desists from his claime.

Vpon the faire cloze of all these troubles, there followed presently an accident, which seasoned it with that lowrenesse of griefe, as over-gaue all the joy of the successe. *William* the young Prince, the onely hope of all the *Norman* race, at seventeehe yeares of age, returning into *England*, in a ship by himselfe, accompanied with *Richard* his base brother, *Mary Countesse of Perch*, their sister; *Richard Earle of Chester*, with his wife, the Kings Neece, and many other personages of honour, and their attendants, to the number of 140. besides 50. Mariners, setting out from *Barbfleet*, were all cast away at Sea, onely a Butcher escaped. The Prince had recovered a Cock-boat, and in possibility to have bin saved, had not the compassio of his sisters cries drawne him batke to the sinking ship to take her in, and perish with his Company.

Which sudden clap of Gods judgement, comming in a ealme of glory, when all these bustlings seemed past over, might make a conscience shrinke with terror, to see oppresyon and supplantation repayd with the extinction of that, for which so much had beeene wrought; and the line Malculine of *Normandy* expired in the third inheritor (as it to begin the fate, layd on all the future successse hitherto); wherein the third Heire in a right tressent, sel-dome or never enjoyed the Catrone of *England*, but that eyther by usurpation or extinction of the male blood, it received an alteration; which may teach Princes to observe the wayes of Righteousnesse, and let men alone with their rights, and God with his providence.

After this heavy disaster, this King is sayd never to have bin seen to laugh, thought within 5 moneths after, in hope to restore his issue, he married *Adela*, a beautifull young Lady, daughter to the Duke of *Agouaine*, of the house of

The King of
France ac-
tounds the
Pope and
Emperour.

King Henry
aydes Comte
Theobald a-
gainst the
King of
France:

The King of
France com-
bines with the
Earle of *Flan-*
ders, against
King *Henry*.

1116.

Anno
Reg. 17

Queen *Maud*
laid riot to
see this disa-
ster.

The Life and Reigne of Henry the first.

Robert de Mel-
tens confi-
tracie.

1123.

Anno

Reg. 25

Maud the
Empresse
married to
Geffrey
Plantagenet.

1126.

Anno

Reg. 27

1133.

Anno

Reg. 34

His govern-
ment in peace.

The first use
of Progresses.

The begin-
ning of Par-
liaments.

Lorraine, but never had child by her, nor long rest from his troubles abroad. For this rent at home, crackt all the chayne of his courses in France. Normandy it selfe became wavering, and many adhered to William the Nephew: his great confederates are most regayned to the King of France: Foulke Earle of Anion quarrels for his daughters Dowry: Robert de Mellent his chiefe Friend and Councillor, a man of great employmēt, fell from him, conspired with Hugh Earle of Monfort, and wrought him great trouble.

But such was his diligence and working spirit, that hee soone made whole all those ruptures againe. The two Earles himselfe surprizes; and Anion, death: which being so important a neighbour, as we may see, by matching a Prince of England there, the King fastens upon it with another alliance, and descends to marry his daughter (and now onely child, which had beeēn wife to an Empour, and desired by the Princes of Lombardy and Lorraine) to the now Earle Geffrey Plantagenet, the sonne of Foulke.

The King of France to fortifie his opposition, entertaines William the Nephew, where now all the danger lay; and aydes him in person, with great power to obtaine the Earledome of Flanders, whereunto he had a faire Title, by the defaillance of issue in the late Earle Baldwin, slaine in a battell in France against King Henry. But William as if heire also of his fathers fortunes, admitted to the Earledome, miscarried in the rule, was deprived, and slaine in battaile; and in him all of Robert Curtoys perished.

And now the whole care of King Henry, was the settling of the succession upon Maud (of whom he lived to see two sonnes borne) for which he convoke a Parliament in England, wherein an Oath is ministred to the Lords of this Land, to be true to her and her heires, and acknowledge them as the right inheritors of the Crowne. This Oath was first taken by David, King of Scots, Vtickle to Maud, and by Stephen, Earle of Bollogne and Mortaine, Nephew to the King, on whom he had bestowed great possessions in England, and advanced his brother to the Bishopricke of Winchester. And to make all more fast, this Oath was afterward ministred againe at Northampton in another Parliament.

So that now all seemes safe and quiet, but his owne sleepes, which are sayd to have beeēn very tumultuous, and full of affrightments, wherein he would often rise, take his sword, and be in act, as if he defended himselfe against assaults of his person, which shewed, all was not well within.

His government in peace, was such as rankes him in the list amongst our Kings of the fairest marke: holding the Kingdome so well ordered as during all his reigne, which was long, he had ever the least to doe at home. At the first, the competition with his brother, after, the care to establish his succession, held him in, to observe all the best courses, that might make for the good and quiet of the State; having an especiall regard to the due administration of Justice, that no corruption or oppression might disease his people, whereby things were carried with an evennesse, betwene the Great men and the Commons, as gave all satisfaction. He made divers Progresses, into remote parts of the Land, to see how the State was ordered. And for that purpose, whensoeuer he was in England, he kept no certaine residence, but solemnized the great Festivals in severall, and farre distant places of the Kingdome, that all might partake of him.

And for that he would not wrest any thing by an Imperiall power from the Kingdome (which might breed vulters of dangerous nature) he tooke a course to obtaine their free consents to serve his occasions, in their generall assemblies of the three Estates of the Land, which he first convoked at Salisbury,

Anno

The Life and Reigne of Henry the first.

He assembles
the first Par-
liament after
the Conquest.

His reforma-
tion.

His means
to raise mo-
nies.

Anno Reg. 15: and which had from his time the name of Parliament, according to the manner of Normandy, and other States, where Princes keepe within their circles to the good of their people, their owne glory, and security of their posterity.

He was a Prince that lived formally himselfe, and repressed those excesses in his subjects which those times entertained, as the wearing of long haire, which though it were a gayetic of no charge (like those sumptuous braveries, that waste Kingdomes in peace) yet for the undecencie thereof, he reformed it, and all other dissolutenesse. His great busynesses, and his wants domē invasive, and so not getting, put him often to use hard courses for his suppliments of treasure. Towards the marriage of his daughter with the Emperour, and the charge of his warre, he obtained (as it might seeme at his first Parliament at Salisbury) Anno Reg. 15. three shillings upon every hide, afterward in France. He kept Bishopricks and Abbeys voyde in his hands; as that of Canterbury, five yeares together. By an Act of Parliament at London, Anno Reg. 39, he had permission to punish Marriage, and incontinency of Priests, whom (for fines notwithstanding) he suffered to enjoy their wives: but hecreby he dispeased the Clergy, and disappointed that reformation.

Punishments which were Mutilation of member, he made pecuniary. And by reason of his often and long being in Normandy, those provisions for his house, which were used to be paide in kinde, were rated at certaine prizes and received in mony, by the consent of the State, and to the great content of the subject, who by reason that many dwelling faire off throughout all Shires of England, were much molested with satisfying the same otherwise. Hee resumed the liberties of hunting in his Forrests, which tooke up much faire ground of the Kingdome; and besides renuing for penalties, made an Edict, That if any man in his owne private woods, killed the Kings Deere, he should forfeit his woods to the King. But he permitted them inclosures for Parkes, which under him seemes to have had their Originall, by the example of that of his at Woodstocke, the multitude whereof grew to be afterwards a disease in the Kingdome.

His expences were chiefly in his Warres, and his many and grot Fortifications in Normandy. His buildings were the Abbey of Reading, the Mannor of Woodstocke, and the great inclosure of that Park, with a stone wall seaven miles about.

The most eminent men of his Councill were, Roger Bishop of Sarum, and the Earle of Mellent, both men of great experience in the affayres of the World: Roger was ever as Vice Roy, had the whole management of the Kingdome in his absence, which was sometimes three and fourre yeares together. He had managed the Kings throny and other affayres of his house, when hee was a poore Prince, and a private man; whereby he gayned an especially trust with him ever after, and discharged his partie with great policy and understanding; had the title of Justiciar of the Kingdome. Of whose magnificence and spacious misde, we have more innoteriences left in notes of stone, than of any one Man, Prince, or other in this Kingdome. The ruines yet remaining of his stately structures, especially that of the Devises in Wilshire, shewes us the carkasse of a most Roman-like Fabrique. Besides, he built the Castles of Mansbury and Shirburne, two strong and sumptuous peeces? new walled and repaireed the Castle of Salisbury, and all these he lived to see rent from him, and sealed into the next Kings hands, as being things done out of his

Tilburiensis de
Seccac: io.

His expences.

His Counsell-
ours.

The magnifi-
cant buildings
of Roger Bi-
shop of Sa-
rum.

The Life and Reigne of Henry the first.

*Robert Merton
an especial
Counsellor to
Hen. I.*

*The example
of frugality in
great men
doth much
good in a
Kingdome.*

*King Henries
death.
His personage*

His issue.

*1135.
Anno.
Reg. I.*

*Reasons why
Maude was
not crowned.*



HE Line Masculine of the Norman extinc^t, and onely a daughter left, (& she married to a French man) Stephen Earle of Bologne and Mortagne, sonne of Stephen Earle of Blois, and of Adela daughter to William the first, was notwithstanding the former oath taken for Maude, elected by the State and invested in the Crowne of England, within thirty dayes after the death of Henry. Up on what reasons of Counsell we must gather out of the circumstancies of the courses held in that time.

Some imagine, The States refused Maude, for not being then the wife of any Kingdome Christian (whose Kings are anointed) to admit women to inherit the Crowne; and therefore they might pretend to be freed from their oath,

his part, and lye now deformed heapes of rubble. Besides, he walled old Salisbury, and repayred the Church there.

Robert Earle of Merton, was son of Roger Beaumont; who of all the great men which followed William the first in his civill Wars of Normandy, refusid to attend him in his expedition for England, though with large promises invited therunto, saying, *The inheritance left him by his predecessors, was sufficient to mantaine his estate at home; and he desired not to thrust himselfe into other mens possessions abroad.* But his sonne Robert was of another minde, and had a mighty estate both in England and Normandy. Was a man of great direction in Counsell, and ever used in all the weighty affayres of the State. His frugality both in apparel and dyet, was of such example, being a man of eminent note, as did much good to the Kingdome in those dayes. But in the end he fell into disgrace, (the fate of Court, and eminency) opposed against the King, and dyed bereft of his estate.

Besides thefe, this King was served with a potent and martiall Nobility, whom his spirit led to affect those great desinges of his in France, for the preservation of his State in Normandy. Whither in the 32. yeare of his reigne, he makes his last voyage to dye there, and in his passage thither, happened an exceeding great Ecclipsse of the Sun, which was taken to fore-signifie his death; for that it followed shortly after, in the thirty five yeare of his reigne.

He was of a gracefull personage, quicke-eyed, browne hayre (a different complexion from his brothers) and of a close compacted temperamēt, wherein dwelt a minde of a more sollide constitution, with better ordered affections. He had, in his youth, some taste of learning; but onely, as ifto set his stomacke, not to over-charge it therewith. But this put many of his subiects into the fashion of the booke, and divers learned men flourished in his time.

He had by Maude his wife the daughter of Malcolme the third, King of Scotland, none other children but Maude and William, of whom any certaine mention is made: but he is sayd to have had of children illegitimate seven sonnes, and as many daughters, which shewes us his incontinency: two of which sonnes of most especiall note, Robert and Raynold were Earles, the one of Gloucester (a great Champion and defender of his sister Maude the Empress) the other Earle of Cornwall, and Baron of Castle-combe. His daughters were all married to Princes and Noble men of England and France, from whom descended many worthy Families, as divers Writers report.

The end of the Life, and Reigne of Henry the first.

The Life, and Reigne, of King Stephen.

The Life and Reigne of King Stephen.

as being unlawfull. But Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, one of the principall men then in Counsell, yeelded another reason for the discharge of this oath, which was, *That seeing the late King had married his daughter out of the Realme, without the consent thereof, they might lawfully refuse her.* And so was Stephen, having no title at all, but as one of the blood, by meere election, advanced to the Crowne. For if he could claime any right in the Succession, as being the sonne of Adela, then must Theobald, Earle of Blois, his elder brother, have beeene preferred before him; and Henry Fitz Empresse (if they refused the Mother) was nearer in blood to the right Stem, than ey-and of great possessions, both in England and France. Had one brother Earle of Blois, a Prince of great estate; another, Bishop of Winchester (the Popes Legat in England, of power eminent) was popular for his affabilitie, godly personage, and activenesse: and therefore acceptable to the Nobility, who, at that time, were altogether guided by the Clergy; and they (by the working of the that by preferring ofte, whose Title was least, would make his obligation the more to them; and so, they might stand better (secured of their liberties) than under such a one, as might presume of an hereditary succession. And to be the more sure thereof, before his admittance to the Crowne he takes a private oath before the Bishop of Canterbury, to confirm the ancient liberties of the Church; and had his brother to undertake, betwixt God and him, for the performance thereof.

But being now in the possession of the Kingdome, and all the Treasure his Vnkle had in many yeres gathered, which amounted to one hundred thousand pounds of exquisite silver, besides Plate, and Jewels, of infinitable value. After the Funeralls performedt at Reading, he assemblies a Parliament at Oxford, wherein, He restored to the Clergy, all their former liberties, and freed the Laity from their tributes, exactions, or whatsoever grievances opprest them, confirming the same by his Charter, which saythfully to observe, he took a publique oath before all the assembly: Where likewise the Bishops swore fealty unto him, but with this condition; So long as he observed the Tenours of this Charter.

And how as one that was to make good the hold that he had gotten, with power, & his sword, prepares for all assaults, which he was surē to have come upon him. And first grants licence, to all that would, to build Castles upon their owne Lands, thereby to Fortifie the Realme, and breake the force of any over-running invasion, that should master the field: Which in settled times might be of good effect, but in a season of distraction and part-taking, very dangerous. And being to subsist by Friends, he makes all he could: Createth new Lords, gives to many great Possessions, and having a full purse spares for no cost to buy love and fidelitie: A purchase very uncertaine when there may be other conveyances made of more strenght to carry it.

Two wayes he was to looke for blowes: From Scotland on one side, and France on the other: Scotland wanted no instigations: David their King Stephen was presentlē there, with the shew of a strong Armie, and appealed him with the restitution of Cumberland, and his sonne Henry Prince of Scotland, with the Earledome of Huntingdon: which with that of Northumberland (as Scottish Writers say) was to descend unto him by the right of his Mother Maude, who was daughter to Waltheo Earle of Huntingdon, and of Radith, Neece to William the first, by whose gift he had that Earledome, and

*Reasons why
Stephen Earle
of Bologne
was crowned
King.*

*King Stephen
possesses the
Treasure of
Henry I.
His first Par-
liament at
Oxford.*

The Life and Reigne of King Stephen.

and was the sonne of Syward Earle of Northumberland: And for this the Prince of Scotland, tooke his Oath offealty to King Stephen which the father refused to doe, as having first sworne to Maude the Empresse. Though otherwise he might be indifferent, in respect that Stephen had married likewise his Neece, which was Maude daughter to the Earle of Bologne, and of Mary sister to this King David, who by this meane was Vnkle both to Maude the Queen, and Maude the Empresse.

The King, returning from this Voyage, found some defection of his Nobilitie, which presently put him into another action, that entertained him sometimes: After which, he falls dangerously sicke, in so much as he was noyed to be dead, by which sickenesse, he lost more than his Health: For his Friends, put in danger thereby, cast to seeke another party to beare them up: it wakened Aniou, and sets him onto surprize certaine peeces in Normandy, to prepare for the recoverie of his Wives right, and made all this Kingdome waver. Thus was his first yeare spent, which shewed how the rest of eighteene would prove, wherein we are to have no other representations, But of revolts, besieging of Castles, surprizings, recoverings, losings againe, with great spoiles, and destructions; in brieve, a most miserable face of a distracted State, that can yeeld no other notes of instruction, but such as are generall in all times of like disposition; and therefore herein we may the better forbear the rehersall of many particulars, being all under one head of action, and like Nature.

1137.
Anno
Reg. 2.

Robert Earle
of Gloucester
the naturall
sonne to Hen
ry the first.

King Stephen
repressesthe
Conspirators.

He defected
the Scots.

The King, having recovered, would make the world know he was alive, and presently passes with Forces into Normandy, overcame the Earle of Aniou in battaile: after makes peace with him, and upon renouncing of the claime of Maude, covenants to give him 5000. markes per annum: he entertaines amity with King Louys the seventh, and causes his sonne Eustace to doe him homage for the Dutchy of Normandy, wherein he was invested: besides, to content his elder brother Theobald, Earle of Blois, he gives him a pension of 2000. markes, and so returns againe into England, to a Warre against Scotland, which, in the meantime, made incursions on this Kingdome; where whilst he was held busie in worke, Robert Earle of Gloucester, base sonne to Henry the first, a man of high spirit, great direction, and indefatigable industry (an especiall actor that performed the greatest part in these times, for his sister Maude) had surprized the Castle of Bristol, and procured Confederates to make good other peeces abroad in divers parts: as William Talbot the Castle of Hereford; Payne the Castle of Ludlow; Lovell that of Cary; Moone the Castle of Dunfor; Robert de Nichol that of Warham; Eustace Fitz John that of Walton, and William Fitz Allan the Castle of Shrewsbury.

Stephen leaves the prosecution of the Scottish Wars to Thurstan Archbiishop of Yorke, whom he made his Lieutenant, and furnished with many Valiant Leaders, as Walter Earle of Albemary, William Peverell of Nottingham; Walter and Gilbert Lacies: Himselfe bravely attended, bends all his power to reppresse the Conspirators, which he did in one expedition; recovers all the Castles (by reason of their distance, not able to succour one another) and drave the Earle of Gloucester home to his sister into Aniou.

No lesse successes had his forces in the North, against the Scots, whom in a great battaile they dis-comfeited and put to flight: Which great Fortunes meeting together in one yeare, brought foorth occasion of bad, in that following: for now presuming more of himselfe, he fell upon those rockes that rent all his greatnessse. He calls a Councell at Oxford, where occasion was given to put him out with the Clergie, that had onely set him into the State.

The

The Life and Reigne of King Stephen.

The Bishops upon the permission of building Castles, so out-went the Lords in Magnificence, strength, and number of their erections, and especially the Bishop of Salisburie, that their greatnessse was much maligned by them, putting the King in head, that all these great Castles, especially of Salisburie, the Vies, Shyrburne, Malmesbury, and Newarke, were onely to entertaine the party of Maude: whereupon the King, whose feares were apt to take fire, iffore-seeing the mischiefe comming to him, would gladly have put off his journey, and excused it by the debility of his age, but it would not serve his turne: thither he comes, where his servants, about the taking up of Lodgings, quarrell with the servants of the Earle of Brittaine, and from words fall to blowes, so that in the bickering, one of them was slaine, and the Neophew of the Earle dangerously Wounded. Whereupon the King sends for the Bishop of Salisburie (most suspected) to Oxford. The Bishop, as journey, and excused it by the debility of his age, but it would not serve his turne: thither he comes, where his servants, about the taking up of Lodgings, quarrell with the servants of the Earle of Brittaine, and from words fall to blowes, so that in the bickering, one of them was slaine, and the Neophew of the Earle dangerously Wounded. Whereupon the King sends for the Bishop, to satisfie his Court, for the breach of peace, made by his servants: The satisfaction required, was the yeelding up of his keyes of his Castles, as pledges of his fealty; but that being stood upon, the Bishop with his Nephew, Alexander Bishop of Lincolne, were restrayed of their liberty, and shortly after sent as prisoners to the Castle of the Devises, whither (the Bishop of Eley, another of his Nephewes) had retired himselfe before. The King seizes into his hands his Castles of Salisburie, Shyrburne, Malmesbury, and after three dayes assault, the Devises was likewise rendred; besides, he tooke all his Treasure, which amounted to fortie thousand markes.

This action being of an extraordinary strayne, gave much occasion of rumour; some sayd: The King had done well in seizing upon these Castles; it being unfit, and against the Canons of the Church, that they who were men of Religion and peace should raise Fortresses for Warre, and in that sort as might be pre-judicall to the King. Against this was the Bishop of Winchester, the Popes Legat, taking rather the part of his function, than that of a brother: saying: That if the Bishops had transgressed, it was not the King but the Canons, that must judge it: that they ought not to be deprived of their possessions, without a publicke Ecclesiasticall Councell; that the King had not done it, out of the zeale of Justice, but for his owne benefit, taking away that which had bene built upon the Lands, and by the charge of the Church, to put it into the hands of Lay-men, little affected to Religion. And therefore to the end, the power of the Canons might be examined, he appoints a Councell to be called at Winchester, whither the King is summoned: And thither repaire most of all the Bishops of the Kingdome, where first is read the Commission of the Legatine power, granted by Pope Innocent to the Bishop of Winchester, who there openly urged the indignity offered to the Church, by the imprisoning of these Bishops: An act most baynows and shamefull for the King, that in the peace of his Court, through the infigation of evill ministers, would thus lay hands upon such men, spoyle them of their estates: which was a violence against God. And that seeing the King would yeld to no admonitions, he had at length called this Councell, where they were to consult what was to be done: that for his part, neither the love of the King, though his brother, nor the losse of his living, or danger of his life, should make him faile in the execution of what they should decree.

The King, standing upon this cause, sends certaine Earles to this Councell, to know why he was called thither: Answer was made by the Legat: That the King, who was subject to the faith of CHRIST, ought not to take it ill, if by the Ministers of CHRIST, he was called to make satisfaction, being conscions of such an offence as that age had not knowne: that it was for times of the Gentiles, for Bishops to be imprisoned, and deprived of their possessions, and therefore

1138.

Anno
Reg. 3.

114c.

Anno
Reg. 5.

The King
seizes upon
the Bishops
Castles and
Treasure.

The Popes
Legat Bi
shop takes
part with Bi
shops against
the King his
brother
Malmesbury.

fore they should tell the King his brother, That if he would vouchsafe to yeeld consent to the Councell, it should be such by the helpe of God, as neyther the Roman Church, the Court of the King of Franche, nor the Earle Theobald, brother to them both (a man wise, and religiouse) shold, in reason dislike it: That the King should doe advisedly to render the reason of his Act, and undergoe a Canonickall judgement: that he ought in duty to favour the Church, into whose bosome being taken, he was advanced to the Crowne without any military hand.

The Kings
Reply.

With which answere the Earles departed, attended with Alberic de Vcr, a man exercised in the Law; and having related the same, they returned with the Kings reply: which Alberic utters, and urges the injuries Bishop Roger had done to the King: how he seldome came to his Court: that his men, presuming on his power, had offercd violence to the nephew and servants of the Earle of Brittain, and to the servants of Herui de Lyons, a man of that Nobility and stoutnesse, as would never vouchsafe to come upon any request to the late King, and yet for the love of this, was desirous to see England: where, to have this violence offred, was an injury to the King, and dishonour to the Realme; that the Bishop of Lincolne, for the ancient hatred to the Earle of Brittain, was the author of his mens sedition: that the Bishop of Salisbury secretly favoured the Kings enemies; and did but subtely temporize, as the King had found by divers circumstances: especially when Roger de Mortimer, sent with the Kings forces in the great danger of Bristol, he would not lodge him one night in Malmesbury: that it was in every mans mouth, as soone as the Empresse came, he and his Nephews would render their Castles unto her: That he was arrested, not as a Bishop, but a servant to the King, and one that administered his procurations, and received his monies. That the King tooke not his Castles by violence, but the Bishop voluntarily rendred them, to avoid the calumnies of their tumults raysed in his Court: If the King found some mony in his Castles, he might lawfully seize on it, in regard Roger had collected it out of the revenues of the King his Uncle & predecessor: and the Bishop willingly yeeldeed up the same, as well as his Castles, through feare of his offences; and of this, wanted not witnessses of the Kings part, who desired that the covenants made betweene him and the Bishop, might remaine ratified.

Against this, Bishop Roger opposes: That he was never servant to the King, nor received his monies; and withall added threatnings, as a man, not yet broken, though bent with his fortunes: that if he found not justice for his wrongs in that Councell, he would bring it to the hearing of a greater Court.

The Legat mildly, as he did other things, sayd: That all what was spoken against the Bishops, ought first to bee examined in the Ecclesiasticall Councell, whether they were true or no, before sentence should have bee given against them contrary to the Canons; and therefore the King should (as it is lawfull in judiciall trials) reuest the Bishops in their former Estates, otherwise by the law of Nations being disfised, they shall not hold their Plea.

After much debate, the Kings cause was (upon a motion) put off till the next day, to the end the Arch-Bishop of Roan, an especiall instrument for the King, might be there; who delivering his opinion said: That if the Bishops could rightly prove by the Canons, they ought to have Castles, they should hold them; but if they could not, it proceeded of great improbity to strive to doe otherwise. And be it (sayd he) their right to have them; yet in a suspected time, according to the manner of other Nations, all great men ought to deliver the keyes of their Fortress, to be at the Kings pleasure, who is to fight for the peace of all. But it is not their right by the decree of the Canons to have Castles; and if by the Princes indulgence it be tollerated, yet in a time of necessity, they ought to deliver the Keyes.

The

The Lawyer Elberic addes: That it was signified to the King, how the Bishops threatened, and had furnished some to goe to Rome against him. But sayd he, the King would have you know, that none of you presume to doe it: for if any goe out of England, contrary to his will, and the dignity of the Kingdome, it will be hard returning. In Conclusion the Councell brake up, nothing was done: The Bishops durst not excommunicate the King, without the Popes privity; and besides, they saw the swords too busie about them; yet failed not the Legat, and the Arch-Bishop to prosecute their parts, and from authority, fell to prayer; and (at the Kings feete in his Chamber) besought him, that he would pity the Church, pity his owne soule and his fame; not to suffer dissencion to be, betweene the Kingdome and the priest-hood. The King returned them faire words, but held what he had gotten.

Shortly after, through griefe, dyed the Bishop of Salisbury, and (according to the fate of over-eminent and greedy Officers) unpittied. He was a man (in his latter time) noted of much corruption, and unsatiable desire of hauing. For whom the present King in the beginning of his Reigne had done very much, making one of his Nephewes Chancellour, the other Treasurer, and upon his suite, gave to himselfe the Borough of Malmsbury; insomuch as the King would say to his Familiars about him: If this man will begge thus still, I will give him halfe the Kingdome but I will please him: and first shall he be weary of craving ere I of granting. And sure the King had great reason to suspect his adhering to Mande, whose part he began to favour onely, out of the hatred he bare to Winchester; who yet was content to forsake his owne brother, in regard by his engagement he was preferred to the Crowne, rather than to loose his good will, and the rest of the Clergy.

But yet this breaking of the King into the Church (which had made him) utterly dissolved him. For presently hereupon all his power fell asunder: The Empresse found now a way open to let her in, and the Earle of Gloucester presuming of a sure side, conducted her into England onely with 150. men: put her into the Castle of Arundell, and himselfe (attended but with twelve horse) passed away cleare through all the Country to Bristol: and from thence to Gloucester, where he had leisure without opposition, to raise all the Countrey to take part with the Empresse; who, from Arundell Castle, was afterward (by the Legat himselfe, and the Kings permission) conveyed to Bristol: received with all obediencie, grew daily in strength as shee went, and came at length to her brother (who had taken in Hertford, made himselfe strong with the Welsh, and settled those parts) to gather up more of the Kingdome, by shewing herselfe and her power in divers places.

Stephen, having no part cleare (by reason the Castles, upon which he spent both his time and meanes, lay so thicke blockes in his way) as he could, not make that speede to stop this stremme, as otherwise he would: holding it not safe to goe forward, and leaye dangers behind, that might over-take him. And first he layes siege to the Castle of Wallingford, which Brian son to the Earle of Gloucester, held against him: then to the Castle of Bristol and other places, working much, but effecting little: which seeing, to gettme and stagger the swift proceeding of this new received Princesse, he causes a treaty of peace to be propounded at Bath, where the Legat (who likewise earnestly solicited the same) with the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, were appointed Commissioners for the King, and the Earle of Gloucester for the Empresse; but nothing was effected, both retorne to make good their sides. The Empresse seekes to recover more, the King what he had lost: and lest the North parts might fall from him, and the King of Scots come on, he repaires thitherward: And finding

The Legat
and Arch-Bis-
shops submis-
sion.

Maude the
Empresse con-
ducted into
England.

The Life and Reigne of King Stephen.

the Castle of Lincolne possest by Ralph Earle of Chester, who had married a daughter of the Earle of Gloucester, and holding it not safe to be in the hands of such a Maister, in such a time, seekes to take it iff by force. The Earle of Chester, who held newtrall, attempting nothing against the King, tooke it iff; and stood upon his defence; but being over-lay'd by power, conveyses himselfe out of the Castle, leaves his brother and wife within to defend it, and procures ayde of his Father in Law the Earle of Gloucester, to succour him.

The Earle takes in hand this businesse, sets out of Gloucester with an Army of Welchmen and others, attended with Hugh Bigod, and Robert de Mortley, joynes with the Earle of Chester, marches to Lincolne, where, in the battaile, King Stephen was taken, carried prisoner to Gloucester, presented to the Empresse, and by her sent to be kept in the Castle of Bristol, but in all Honorable fashion, till his attempt to escape layd fettters on him.

Heteupon the Empresse (as at the top of her fortune) labours the Legat to be admitted to the Kingdome, as the daughter of the late King, to whom the Realme had taken an oath to accept for souveraine in the succession; and wrought so, as a Patle was appointed for this purpose, on the Plaunt neare to Winchester, whete in a blustering sad day (like the fate of the businesse) they met; and the Empresse swore, and made affidation to the Legat, that all the great businesse, and especially the donation of Bishopricks and Abbey's, shold be at his disposing, if he (with the Church) would recevher as Queene of England, and hold perpetuall fidelity unto her. The same oath and affidation tooke likewise her brother Robert Earle of Gloucester, Brian his sonne, Marques of Wallingford, Miles of Gloucester (after Earle of Hereford) with many others for her. Nor did the Bishop sticke to accept her as Queene (though she never came to bee so) and with some few other, made likewise affidation for his part, that so long as she infringed not her covetous, he would also hold his fidelity to her.

The next day, she was received with solemine procession into the Bishops Church at Winchester, the Bishop leading her on the right hand, and Barnard Bishop of Saint David's on the left. There were present many other Bishops, as Alexander Bishop of Lincoln, and Nigele Bishop of Eley (the Nephewes of Roger, lately impishoned) Robert Bishop of Bath, and Robert Bishop of Worcester, with many Abbors.

Within a few dayes after came Thoobald Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Empresse, invited by the Legat; but deferred to doe fealty unto her, as holding it unworthy his person and place, without having conferred first with the King. And therefore he, with many Prelats, and some of the Laiety (by permission obtained) went to the King to Bristol. The Councell brake up, the Empresse keepest her Easter at Oxford, being her owne Towne. Shortly upon Easter a Councell of the Clergy is againe called to Winchester, where the first day the Legat had secret conference with every Bishop apart, and then with every Abbot and other, which were called to the Councell. The next day he makes a publicke speech, shewing how the cause (of their assembly) was to consult for the peace of their Country, in great danger of utter ruine. Repeating the foyntifull reigne of his Uncle, the peace, wealth and honour of the kingdome in his time, and how that renowned King, many yeares before his death, had received an oath both of England and Normandy, for the succession of his daughter Maude and her issue's son, saith he, after his decease, his daughter being then in Normandy, making delay to come into England, where (for that it seemed long to expect) other was to be taken for the peace of the Country, and my brother was permitted to Reigne. And although I interposed my selfe a surety between

Shee labours
the Legat for
the Crownie
of England.

The Legat's
speech to the
Clergy, to
Crownie the
Empresse.

God

The Life and Reigne of King Stephen.

God and him, that he shold honour and exalt the holy Church, keepe and ordaine good Lawes; Yet how he hath behaved himselfe in the Kingdome, it grieves me to remember, and I am ashamed to repeate. And then recounts he all the Kings courses with the Bishops, and all his other mis-governments. And then sayd, he, every man knowes I ought to love my mortall brother, but much more the cause of my immortall Father; and therefore seeing God hath shewed his judgements on my brother, and suffered him (without my knowledge) to fall into the hand of Power: that the kingdome may not miscarry for want of a Ruler, I have called you all bither by the power of my Legation. Yesterday the cause was moved in secrect, to the greatest part of the Clergy, to whom the right appertunes to elect and ordaine a Prince. And therfore after having invoked (as it is meete,) the Divine ayde, We elect for Queene of England the daughter of the peaceful, glorious, rich, & in our time the incomparable King; and to her, we promise our faith and allegiance.

When all, who were present, eyther modestly gave their voyce, or by their silence contradicted it not, the Legat addes: The Londoners, who are (in respect of the greatnessse of their City) as among the optimacy of England, we have by our messengers summoned, and I trust they will not stay beyond this day, to morrow we will expell them.

The Londoners came, were brought into the Councell, shewed How they were sent from the Communalty of London, not to bring contention, but prayer, that the King their Lord might be freed from captivity, and the same did all the Barons (received within their Liberties) earnestly beseech of my Lord Legat, and all the Clergy there present. The Legat answers them at large and loftily, according to his speech the day before, and added, That the Londoners who were held in that degree in England, ought not to take their parts, who had forsaken their Lord in the War, by whose Counsell the Church hath beene dishonoured, and who favoured the Londoners but for their owne gaine.

Then stands there up a Chaplaine to Queene Maude, wife to Stephen, and delivers a letter to the Legat, which he silently read, and then said aloud, That it was not lawfull in the assembly of so many reverend and religious persons the same should be publikely read, containing matter reprehensible. The Chaplaine not to faile in his message, boldly reads the Letter himselfe, which was to this effect: That the Queene earnestly intreats all the Clergy there Assembled, and namely the Bishop of Winchester, the Brother of her Lord, to restore him unto the Kingdome, whom wicked men, which were also his subjects, held prisoner.

To this the Legat answers (as to the Londoners) and shortly after the Councell brake up, wherein many of the Kings part were excommunicated: namely William Martill, an especiall man about the King, who had much displeased the Legat.

Hereupon a great part of England willingly accepted of Maude, in whose businesse her brother Robert employes all his diligence and best care, reforming Justice, restoring the Lawes of England, promising relievments, and whatsoever might be to win the people; the Legat secondeing all his courses.

But now, she being at the point of obtaining the whole Kingdome, all came suddenly dasht by her over-hauty and proud carriage, and by the practise of the Londoners, who adhering to the other side, began openly to inveigh against her, who had displeased them, and they had plotted to surprize her in their City; whereof shee having notice, secretly withdrawes herselfe (accompained with her Uncle David, King of Scots, who was come to visite her and her brother Robert) unto Oxford, a place of more security. The Legat himselfe takes, or makes an occasion to be slacke in her cause, upon her denying him a suit for his Nephew Eustace, the sonne of Stephen, about the inheritance.

Is intertained
with teares by
the Queene,
regnant.

inheritance of his Earledome of Mortaigne in Normandy. Besides, the Queen regnant, watchfull over all oportunities, found means to parle with the Legat, *Sets upon him with her teares, intreaty, promises, and assurance for the Kings reformation: in so much as shee recalled him to the affection of Nature, brought him about againe to absolve such of the Kings part, as he had lately excommunicated.*

The Earle of Gloucester, seeing this suddaine and strange relaps of their affaires, strives, by all meanes to hold up Opinion, and re-quicken the Legats dispolitiō, which to keep sound, was all. He brings the Empresse to Winchester, settles her, and her guard, in the Castle, where she desires to speake with the Legat, who first delayes, then denies to come. Whereupon they call their best friends about them. Queen Maude and the Lords incompaſſe the Towne, and cut off all viuell from the Empresse, so that in the end, the Earle of Gloucester wrought meanes to have her conueyd from thence to the Vies, but himſelfe was taken, and in highe mort of her.

This sets the ſides both even againe into the Lists of their tryall: the two Prisoners are to redeeme each other: The disproportion of the quality between them, shewed yet there was an evennes of power, and the Earle would not conſent to the Kings delivery (who onely in that was to have the Precedence) but upon moft ſecure cautions. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Legat, undertooke to yeeld themſelves Prisoners for him, if the King re-leaſed him not, according to his promife: But that would not ſerve the turne, till they both had written their Briefes to the Pope, to intimate the course that was taken herein, and delivered the ſame unto him, under their hands and ſeales. So that, if the King ſhould, as he might not care, to hold the Bifhops in Prison: yet the Pope, iſ hard meaſure were offred, might relieve them. Which ſhewes the advantage of credit in the buſineſſe, lay on this ſide, and the King was to have his fetters though at liberty.

II.4.2.
Anno
Reg. 7.

The Queen and Eustace, her ſon the Prince, upon the inlargement of Stephen, remaine pledges in the Castle of Bristol, till the Earle were released, which was done upon the Kings conuymg to Winchester. Where the Earle in familiar conference, was, by all art poſſible, ſolicited to forſake the party of Maude, with promife of all preſerments of honour and estate: but nothing could moove him being fixt to his courses, and rather would he have beeſe content to remaine a perpetuall Prisoner, than that Stephen ſhould have been released, had not his ſiſter wrought him to this conuiction.

The Legat, after this, calls a Councell at London, where the Popes letters, written unto him, are openly read, which argue him (but mildly) of ſome neglect of his brothers reſeauing, and exhort him to uſe all meanes Ecclesiasticall and Secular, to ſet him at liberty.

King Stephen's
complaint.

The King himſelfe came into the Councell, complaines, *How his ſubjects, to whom he had never denied Justice, had taken him, and reproachfully affiſted him even to death. The Legat, with great eloquence, labors to excule his own courses: Alledging, How he received not the Empresse by his will, but neceſſity: that preeſtly upon the Kings overthrow, whileſt the Lords either were fled, or ſtood in ſuſpence attending the event, ſhee and her people came thundring to the Walſ of Winchester: And that, what paſt ſeever hee had made with her, for the right of the Church, ſhee obſtinately brake all: Besides, hee was certainly informed, that ſhee and hers had plotted, both againſt his dignity and life: But God in his mercy, contrary to her deſire, had turned the buſineſſe, ſo, as hee escaped the danger, and his brother deliuered out of bands. And therefore hee, from the part of God, and the Pope, willed them, with all their utmoſt power, to ayde the King,*

King, annoiſted by the conſent of the People and the Sea Apoſtoliqe, and to Excommunicate all the diſturbers of the peace that favoured the Countesse of Aniou.

There was in the Councell a Lay Agent for the Emprefſe, who penly charged the Legat, *That in reſpect of the faith he had given the Emprefſe, to paſſe no act there, prejudiciale to her honour: having ſworne unto her never to ayde his brother with above twenty ſouldiers; that her conuymg into England, was upon his often Letters unto her: and his cauſe it was, that the King was taken and held prisoner.* This, and much more ſayd the Agent with great auſterity of words, wherewith the Legat ſeemed not to be mooved at all, nor would ſtoope to reply.

But both parts thus ſet at liberty, were left to worke for themſelves, holding the State broken beſtweene them; and no meanes made to interpoſe any barre to keepe them a funder. Their borders lay every where, and then the ingagements of their Partakers, who looke all to be fauers or to recover their ſtaks when they were lost, which makes them never give over) entertain the contention. But the beſt was, they were rather troubles then Warres, and coſt more labour than blood. Every one fought with Bucklers, and ſeldome came to the ſharpe in the field, which would ſoone have ended the buſineſſe.

Some few moneths after theſe inlargements, ſtood both ſides at ſome reſt, but not idle, caſting how to compaſſe their ends. The Emprefſe at the Vies with her Councell, reſolves to ſend over her brother into Normandy, to ſolicite her husband the Earle of Aniou, to come to ayde her with Forces from thence: Her brother the better to ſecure her in his abſence ſettles her in the Castle of Oxford, well furnished for all aſſaults: and takes with him the ſoſs of the eſpeciall men about her, as pledges to hold them to their fidelity. Stephen ſeekes to ſtop the Earles paſſage, but could not, and then layes ſiege to the Castle of Oxford; which held him all the time that the Earle was abroad. Geffrey Earle of Aniou, deſirous rather to have Normandy (whereof, in this meane time, he had attayned the moft part, and in poſſibility of the reſt) than to aduenture for England, which lay in danger, refuſed to come in person, but ſends ſome ſmall ayde, and his eldeſt ſonne Henry, being then but eleven yeareſ of age, that he might looke upon England, and be ſhewed to the people, to try if that would moove them to a conſideration of his right: which prooved of moſe effect than an Army.

The Earle of Glouceſter ſafely returning, makes towards Oxford to releaſe the Emprefſe, who had ſecretly conveyed her ſelue diſguifeſd out at a poſteſte Gate, onely with four persons, got over the Thameſ, paſſed on foote to Abington, and from thence conveied to Wallingford, where her brother and ſonne met her, to her more conforſt after hard diſtresses.

Stephen ſeeing his enemy thus ſupplyed, and like to grow, labours to win friends, but mony failes, which made diuers of his Lords, and eſpecially his mercenaries, whereof he had many out of Flanders, to fall to the riſing of Abbeyes, which was of dangerous conſequēce: And for Armies there was no meanes; onely about Caſtles, with ſmall powers, lay all the buſineſſe of thoſe times, and they being ſo many were to ſmall effect, but onely to hold them doing, which was for many yeareſ.

The Earle of Glouceſter, the chiefe pillar of the Emprefſe, within two yeareſ after his laſt conuymg out of Normandy died, and ſhortly after Miles Earle of Hereford, an eſpeciall man of hers, which had utterly quaſht her, but that in ſtead of a brother ſhe had a ſonne grew up to be of moſe estimation with

The Earle of
Glouceſter gets
to Normandy.

The Earle
returns with
the Emprefſe's
eldeſt ſonne
Henry.

II.4.3.
Anno
Reg. 8.

The Earle of
Glouceſter dyſes.

the Nobility, and shortly after of ablenesse to undergoe the travales of Warre. His first expedition at fifteene yeares of age was Northward to combine him with *David King of Scots* his great Vnkle, to whom his mother had given the Country of *Northumberland*. After him followes *Stephen* with an Army to *Yorke*, least he should surprize that City, and to intercept him in his retурne: but according to his usuall manner, and *French-like*, after the first heate of his undertakings, which were quicke and brave, he quails: nothing was effected, and both retурne without incountring.

Now to advance the State and meanes of *Henry*, Fortune, as if in love with young Princes, presents this occasion. *Louys the seventh*, King of *France*, going in person to the Holy warres, and taking with him his wife *Elenor*, the only daughter and heire of *William Duke of Guien*, grew into such an odious conceit of her, upon the notice of her lascivious behaviour in those parts, as the first worke he doth upon his comming backe, he repudiates, and turnes her home with all her great dowry, rather content to lose the mighty estate she brought him, than to enjoy her person. With this great Lady matches *Henry* before he was twenty yeares of age, (being now Duke of *Normandy*, his father deceased, who had recovered it for him) and had by her the possession of all those large and rich Countries, appertayning to the Dutchy of *Guien*, besides the Earledome of *Poitou*. Whereupon *Louys* enraged to see him enlarged by this great accession of State, who was so neere, and like to be so dangerous and eminent a neighbour, combines with *Stephen*, and aydes *Eustace* his sonne (whom he married to his sister *Constance*) with maine powrer, for the recovery of *Normandy*, wherein he was first possest. But this young Prince, furnished now with all this powerfull meanes, leaves the managemēt of the affaires of *England* to his friends, defends *Normandy*, wrought so, as the King of *France* did him little hurt; and *Eustace* his Competitor, returned home into *England*, where shortly after he dyed, about 18. yeares of his age, borne never to be out of the calamities of Warre, and was buried at *Feverham* with his mother, who deceased a little before, and had no other joy nor glory of a Crowne but what wee see. *Stephen* whilst Duke *Henry* was in *Normandy*, recovers what he could, and at length besieges *Willingford*, which seemes in these times to have beeene a peece of great importance and impregnable, and reduced the Defendants to that extremity, as they sent to Duke *Henry* for succour, who presently thereupon, in the middest of Winter, arrives in *England* with 3000. foote, and 140. horse. Where first, to draw the King from *Willingford*, hee layes siege to *Malmesbury*, and had most of all the great men in the West, and from other parts comming in unto him. *Stephen* now resolved to put it to the tryall of a day, brings thither all the power hee could make; and far over-went his enemy in number; but flouds and stormes, in an unseasonable Winter, kept the Armies from incountring, till the Bishops, doubtfull of the successe, and seeing how dangerous it was for them, and the whole State, to have a young Prince get the maistry by his sword, mediated a peace, which was after concluded in a Parliament at *Winchester*, upon these conditions.

1. That King *Stephen*, during his naturall life, should remaine King of *England*, and *Henry* enjoy the Earledome of *Normandy*, as descended unto him from his mother, and be Proclaimed Heire apparent to the Kingdome of *England* as the adopted sonne of King *Stephen*.

2. That the partizans of either, should receive no damage, but enjoy their Estates according to their ancient Rights and Titles.

3. That the King should resume into his hands all such parcels of inheritance belonging

A. 1151.

Resumptions.

longing to the Crowne, as had beeene alienated by him, or usurped in his time. And that all those possessions which by intrusion had beeene violently taken from the owners since the dayes of King *Henry*, should be restored unto them who were rightly possessed therein, when the sayd King reigned.

4. That all such Castles as had beeene built by the permission of *Stephen*, and in his time (which were found to be 1117) should be demolished, &c.

There is a Charter of this agreement in our Annals, which hath other Articles of reservation for the Estates of particular persons. And first for *William*, the second sonne of *Stephen*, to enjoy all the possessions his Father held before hee was King of *England*, and many other particulars of especiall note.

After this pacification and all businesse here settled, Duke *Henry* returns into *Normandy* and likewise there concludes a peace with the King of *France*, and for that he would be sure to have it, buyes it, with twenty thousand markes.

And now King *Stephen* having attayned (that he never had) peace, which yet, it seemes, he enjoyed not a yare after, uses all the best meanes he could to repayre the ruines of the State, makes his progresses into most parts of the Kingdome, to reforme the mischiefes that had growne up under the sword: And after his retурne calls a Parliament at *London*, to consult of the best meanes for the publicke good. After the Parliament, he goes to meeete the Earle of *Flanders* at *Dover*, who desired conference with him, and having despatcht him, falls presently sicke, dyes within few dayes after, and was buried (in the Abbey hee founded) at *Feverham*, with the unfortunate Princes.

A man so continually in motion, as we cannot take his dimension, but onely in passing, and that but on one side, which was Warre: On the other, we never saw but a glaunce of him, which yet, for the most part, was such, as shewed him to be a very worthy Prince for the Government. He kept his word with the State concerning the relievments of Tributes, and never had Subsidy that we finde.

But which is more remarkable, having his sword continually out, and so many defections and rebellions against him, He never put any great man to death. Besides it is noted, that notwithstanding all these miseries of Warre, That here were more Abbeys built in his Reigne, than in an hundred years before, which shewes, though the times were bad, they were not impious.

The end of the Life and Reigne of King Stephen.

The Life and Reigne, of Henry the second; And first of the Line of Plantagenet.

H A T short time of peace, before the death of *Stephen*, had so allayed the spirit of contention, and prepared the Kingdome (wearied and defaced with Warre) to that disposition of quietnesse: as *Henry Plantagenet* (though a *French-man* borne, and at that time, out of the Land: long detayned with contrary Winds, yet a Prince of so great possessions abroad, as might make him feared, to bee too mighty a maister at home, or doubtfull, where he would set his seate: Whether carry *England* thither, or bring those great States to this) was, notwithstanding generally admitted (without any opposition or capitulation, other than the usuall oath) to the Crowne of *England*: which hee received at the hands of *Theobald*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the twentie

A. 1154.
He reigned
18. years,
and ten
moneths.

1155.
Anno
Reg. I.

twentieth day of December, Anno 1154. about the three and twentieth yeare
of his age.

And though he were a Prince Young, Active, powerfull, and had all that
might make him high and presuming : Yet the necessity of his owne affayres,
were so strong raines to hold him in, from all exorbitant courses : as made him
wary to obserue at first, all meanes to get, and retaine the love and good opini-
on of this Kingdome, by a regular and easie Government : being sure to
have the King of France perpetually awake, for all advantages (both in re-
gard of the daily quarrells, common to mighty neighbours, as also for match-
ing with her that came out of his bed, and brought away those mighty Pro-
vinces from that Crowne, whereby he comes now to over-match him) be-
ing thus invested in this powerfull Kingdome of England. Where, after ha-
ving made a choyce of grave Counsellors, such as best understood the state
thereof; he began at a Councell or Parliament held at Wallingford, with an
Act (that both served his owne turne, and much eased the stomacks of his
people) which was the *expulsion of strangers*, wherewith the Land was much
pestered, by reason of the late wars that had drawne great numbers of them,
and especially of Flemings and Picards, whom King Stephen especially trus-
ted in his greatest actions, after he grew doubtfull of the English fidelity, and
had made their Leader William d' Ipres, Earle of Kent, who likewise was tur-
ned home, and his estate seized into the Kings hands.

Expulsion of Strangers.

Resumption of Crowne Lands.

Then, that he might subsist by his owne meanes, without pressure of his
subjects, (whose voluntary services, and contributions, would yeeld him
more in measure, than if exacted) he looks to the State, and ordering of his re-
venues, reformes the Exchequer, and revokes all such Lands belonging to the
Crown, as had any way beeene alienated, or usurped. And though some of the
great Lords stood out for the holding what they had in possession, as Hugh
de Mortimer for his Castles of Clebury, Wigmore, and Bridgenorth; and Roger
Fitz Miles, Earle of Hereford for the City and Lands of Gloucester: yet the
King tooke them by force as appertayning to the Crowne. Besides, he re-
sumed the Castle of Skarborough, which William Earle of Albemarle held, and
divers other Lands and Castles in Yorkeshire, posseſſed by private men. Hugh
Bigot resigned his Castles into the Kings hands. And more, he tooke from
William Earle of Mortaine, and Warren, base sonne to King Stephen, the Ca-
ſtle of Pemsey, the City of Norwich: with other Townes and Castles, notwithstanding
himſelfe granted the ſame, in his agreement with Stephen; al-
ledging, They were of the Demaynes of the Crowne, and could not be aliened.
Onely he suffered him to enjoy ſuch lands, as his Father, King Stephen held
in England, in the time of Henry the first.

Then goes he Northward, and recovers the City of Carlile, ſeizes all Cum-
berland into his hands; and after takes the Towne of New-Castle, with the
Castle of Bamberg, and ſo resumed all Northumberland, which his Mother
(the Emprefſe). Had before granted to David King of Scots, her Vnkle
(Grand-father to Malcolin, who now reigned) as being not in his Mothers
power, nor his, to give away any part of the Kingdome. Notwithstanding,
he was content, Malcolin ſhould enjoy the Earledome of Huntingdon, which
King Stephen had given to Henry Prince of Scotland, Father to Malcolin, as
being a peice in the heart of England, whereof he could make no uſe, but at
the Kings pleasure; and besides, was a meanes, to hold him his Homager,
and to perorme thoſe ſervices belonging to that Earledome.

And the ſame course tooke he with the Alienations, and uſurpations for-
merly made of the Demaynes of the Dutchy of Normandy, and forced

Theobald

Theobald Earle of Blois, to resigne into his hands, two Castles, and Petroch
Earle of Perch, other two. These revocations, wherby ſo many were indama-
ged in their estates, and Grants, both of his Predeceſſors, and his owne utterly nulli-
fied, might ſeeme to be an act of great iuſtice, and in a new Government,
of little ſafety. But in regard, the Common-wealth had thereby a benefit;
and but few (though great) intereffed, it paſſed as a worke universally neceſ-
ſary, ſeeing his Maintenance otherwife, muſt be made up out of publicke
taxations, which would turne to a generall grievance. But the reſuming of
the Earledome of Aniou out of his brother Geffryes hands, contrary to his oath,
cannot but be held a ſtraine beyond conſcience and good nature. For his fa-
ther Geffrey Plantagenet deſirous to leave ſome eſtate to his ſecond ſonne
Geffrey, ordayne by his Testament, That when Henry had recovered the
Kingdome of England, the other ſhould have the County of Aniou; and in the
meane time, put Geffrey in poſſeſſion of the Castles and Townes of Chinon,
Lodun, and Mirabell, whereby hee might, both have maintenance for his
eſtate, and a readier meanes to come to the rest when occaſion ſerved. And
left his ſonne Henry would not perorme his will, he got certayne Bifhops, and
other Nobles to ſwear, that they ſhould not ſuffer his body to be interred, till Henry,
who was then abſent, had ſworne to fulfill his Testament: Henry, rather than
to ſuffer his fathers body to lye unburied, With great unwillingnes takes this
oath. But after being invested in the Crowne of England, & Geffrey ſeaſing up-
on the Earledome of Aniou, he paſſes over into France, and not onely takes
from him the Earledome, but alſo thoſe three townes he had in poſſeſſion; al-
leđging, It was no reaſon, a forced oath (upon ſuch an occaſion) ſhould bind him to
forgoe the inheritance of his Birth-right, (being all the Patrimony, that was to de-
ſcend unto him from his Father) and though he had recovered the Kingdome of
England; that was not his fathers worke, but by another right. And althoogh
he held his brother deare unto him, yet having Children of his owne, he was to pro-
vide, that what was his, ſhould deſcend to them. But yet was content, to allow
his brother an honorable penſion (of a thouſand pounds English, and two
thouſand pounds of Aniouin money yeately) for the maintenanece of his
eſtate; and obtained of Pope Adrian the fourth (an English man borne) a
diſpenſation for his Oath, made in this caſe.

And now the firſt occaſion, that put him here into action of Warre, was
the Rebellion of the Welch, who according to their uſual manner, ever at-
tempted ſome thing, in the beginning of the Reigne of new Princes, as if to
try their ſpirits, and their owne Fortunes. Against whom he goes ſo prepa-
red, as if he meant to goe through with his Workes. Wherein at firſt, he had
much to doe, paſſing a ſtreight among the Mountaines, where he lost (with
many of his men) Eustace Fitz John, and Robert Curcy, eminent persons; and
himſelfe noyfed to be ſlaine, ſo much diſcouraged that part of the Army,
which had not paſſed the Streights, as Henry an Earle of Effex, threw downe
the Kings Standard (which he bare by inheritance) and fled; but ſoone, the
King made it knowne, he was alive, diſcomifted his enemies, and brought
them to ſeeke their peace with ſubmiſſion. The Earle of Effex was after ac-
cused, by Robert de Monfort for this miſdeede, had the Combate, was over-
come, pardoned yet of life, but condemned to be ſhorne a Monke, put into
the Abbey of Rcadine, and had his Lands ſeized into the Kings hands.

It was now the fourth yeare of the reigne of this King; when, all his
affaers were in proſperous courſe, his State increasing, his Queene fruitfull, and
had borne him three ſonnes in England, Henry, Richard and Geffrey: his eldeſt
ſonne William (to whom he had cauſed the Kingdome, to take an Oath of
fealty)

The King re-
sumes the
Earledome
of Aniou.

1156.
Anno
Reg.2.

His firſt expe-
dition into
Wales.

The puni-
ment of Co-
wardize.

1158.
Anno
Reg.4.

fealty) dyed shortly after his comming to the Crowne, so that now, the same Oath is rendred to *Henry*, and all is secure and well on this side.

The King of *France*, who would gladly have impeached the mighty current of this Kings Fortune, was held in, and fettered with his owne necessities: his journey to the Holy Land, had exhausted all his Treasure, and since his comming home, the Pope had exacted great summes of him for dispensing with his second marriage, which was with *Constantia* daughter to *Alphonso*, King of *Galicia*, a feeble alliance, and farre off, so that all concurred to increase the greatnesse of this King of *England*; who having now almost surrounded *France* (by possessing first all *Normandy*), with a great footing in *Brittaine* by the resignation of *Nants*, with the Country there about, which *Conan* the Duke was forced lately to make unto him; then the Earldome of *Maine*, *Poitou*, *Touraine*, *Anion* with the Dutchy of *Guien*) he also layes claime to the rich Earledome of *Tholouse* upon this Title:

The resignati-
on of Nants
to the King of
England.

King Henries
claime to the
Earledome of
Tholouse.

1159.
Anno
Reg. 5.

William Duke of Aquitaine grandfather to Queen *Elinor*, married the daughter and heire of the Earle of *Tholouse*, and going to the holy Wars, ingaged that Earledome to *Raymond* Earle of St. *Gyles*, & never returned to redeeme it. William his sonne, father to Queen *Elinor*, eyther through want of meanes, or neglect, delayed likewise the redemption thereof; so that the Earle of St. *Giles* continuing in possession whilst he lived, left it to his sonne *Raymond*, of whom King *Louys* of *France* (having married *Elinor*, the daughter and heire of the last William) demaunded the restitution, with tender of the summe for which it was ingaged. *Raymond* refuses it, and stands to his possession, as of a thing absolutely sold or forfeited: but being too weake to contend with a King of *France*, fell to an accord and married his sister *Constance*, widow of *Eustace* sonne to King *Stephen*, and so continues the possession. Now King *Henry* having married this *Elionor*, and with her wast to have all the Rights she had, tended likewise (as the King of *France* had done, in the same case) the summe formerly disbursed, upon the morgage of that Earledome. And withall makes ready his sword to recover it, and first combines in league and amity, with such, whose Territories bordred upon it: as with *Raymond* Earle of *Barcelona*, who had married the daughter and heire of the King of *Aragon*, a man of great Estate in those parts, entertained him with conference of a match betweene his second sonne *Richard*, and his daughter: with covenant, that *Richard* should have the inheritance of the Dutchy of Aquitaine, and the Earledome of *Poictou*. Besides, he takes into his protection *William* Lord of *Trancheville* (possessing likewise) many great Signories in the Countrey: and one who held himselfe much wronged in his Estate, by the Earle of *Tholouse*.

These aydes prepared, he leavies an Army, and gors in person to besiege the Citie of *Tholouse*, and takes along with him *Malcolin*, King of *Scots*, who (comming to his Court to doe him homage, for the Earledome of *Huntingdon*, and to make claime for those other peeces, taken from his Crowne) was entartayned with so many fayne words and promises of King *Henry*, as drew him along to this Warre.

The Earle of *Tholouse*, understanding the intentions of the King of *England*, cravé ayde of his brother in Law the King of *France*, who likewise, with a strong Armie, comes downe in person to succour *Tholouse*, and was there before the King of *England* could arriue with his Forces; whereupon, seeing himselfe prevented, and in dis-advantage, King *Henry* fell to spoyling the Country, and takes in *Cahors* in *Quercy*, where he places a strong Garrison to bridle the *Tholousains*, and so returnes into *Normandy*, gave the order of Knight-hood to King *Malcolin* at *Tours*: augments his Forces, and enters the

the Countrey of *Reauoisin*, where he destroyes many Castles, and committeth great spoyles. And to adde more annoyance to the King of *France*, he obtained of the Earle de *Auranches*, the two strong Castles *Rochford* and *Mornford*, which furnished with Garrisons, impeached the passage twixt *Orlance* and *Paris*; in so much as the Warre and weather grew hot betwixt these two great Princes, and much effusion of blood was like to follow, but that ame- diation of peace was made, and in the end concluded, *With a match betweene the young Prince Henry, not seaven yeares of age, and the Lady Margaret eldest daughter to the King of France scarce thre: weak linkes, to hold in so mighty Princes*. The young Lady was delivered rather as an Ostage than a Bride, to *Robert de Newburge*, to be kept till her yeares would permit her to live with her husband. In the meane time, notwithstanding, many ruptures hapned betwixt the Parents: *The first whereof grew upon the King of Englands getting into his owne hand the Castle of *Gisors*, with two other Castles upon the River *Eata*, in the confins of *Normandy*: delivered up before the due time by three Knights Templars, whom they were committed in trust, till the marriage were consummated. And this cost some blood: the Knight Templars are persecuted by the King of *France*, and the King of *England* receives them.*

But now the advantage of power lying all on this side, and the King seeing himselfe at large (and how much hee was abroad) beganne to be more at home, and to looke to the Prexrogatives of his Crowne, which as he was informed, grew much infringed by the Clergy: which, since the time of *Henry the first*, were thought to have enlarged their jurisdiction beyond their vocations, and himselfe had found their power, in the election of King *Stephen*, with whom they made their owne conditions, with all advantages for themselves, whereby they deprived his Mother and her Issue, of their succession to the Crowne. And though afterwards by their mediation, the peace twixt him, and *Stephen* was concluded, and his succession ratified: yet for that might hee thanke his Sword, the Justice of his cause, and strong party in the Kingdome. What they did therein shewed him rather their power, than their affection; and rather put him in minde of what they had done against him at first, than layed any obligation on him, for what they did afterward. And his owne example, seeing them apt to surprise all advantages for their owne advancement, made him doubt how they might deale with his Posterity, if they found occasion: and therefore is he easily drawne to abate their power in what he could, or helpe to bring about their fall.

To this motion of the Kings dislike, the Lay Nobilitie (emulous of the others authority) layd more weights: alledging how the immunitiess of the Clergy tooke up so much from the Royalty, as his execution of justice, could have no general passage in the kingdome: the Church held their Dominion apart, and free from any other authority than their owne, and being exempt from secular punishments, many enormious acts were committed by Clergy men, without any redresse to be had; and it was notched to the King, that since the beginning of his Reigne, There had beeene above a hundred men slaughters committed within the Reigne of *England* by Priests and men within Orders.

Now had the King a little before (upon the death of *Theobald*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*) preferred *Thomas Becket*, a creature and servant of his owne, to that See. A man whom first, from being Arch-deacon of *Canterbury*, he made his Chancellor, and finding him diligent, fruty and wise, imployes him in all his greatest busynesses of the State: by which tryall of his service and fidelity, hee might expect to have him ever the readier to advance his affayres, upon all occasions. And besides, to shew how much hee respected

1160.
Anno
Reg. 6.

Prince Henry
contracted to
Margaret
daughter to
the King of
France.

The King
seekes to abate
the power of
the Clergy,
and the cause
thereof.

Complaints
against the
Clergy.

1161.
Anno
Reg. 7.

Thomas Becket
preferred to
the See of
canterbury.

the Prince, the Barons of the Exchequer, & Robert de Lucie, chiefe Justice of England had made him his acquaintance for all accounts, and secular receipts, in the behalfe of the King: and so (freed and cleared) was he chosen to the administration of that office, and therefore would plead the same no more.

The King, notwithstanding, urging to have judgement passe against him, both for this, his late attempts and disobedience, he was commanded the next day to attend his Censure. The morning before he was to appeare, he celebrates earely with great devotion, the Masse of St. Stephen Protomartyr, which had these words: *Etenim federunt Principes, & adversus me loquebantur;* and so committing his cause to God sets forward to the Court in his Stole, his blacke Canonicall hood, carrying the Crosse in his right hand, and guiding his horse with the left. The people seeing him come in this fashion, flock all about him; he entring the great Chamber, sat downe amongst them, the King being within, in his Priuy Chamber with his Councell: from whom first came foorth the Bishop of London, and much blames him for comming so armed to the Court, and offered to pull the Crosse out of his hand, but the Arch-Bishop held it so fast that he could not. Which the Bishop of Winchester seeing, sayd to London, Brother, let him alone, he ought well to beare the Crosse: London replies, you speake brother against the King, and it will be ill for you. After this comes foorth the Arch-Bishop of Yorke (the heate of whose ancient hatred, saith Hoveden, would not suffer him to speake in peace, and rebukes him very sharply, forcomming in that fashion, as if to a Tyrant, or heathen Prince, and told him, That the King had a sword sharper than his Crosse, and if he would be advised by him, he should take it from him. Canterbury replies, the Kings sword wounds carnally, but mine strikes Spiritually, and sends the soule to Hell.

After much debate, the Arch-Bishop Becket invayes against this Violent proceeding against him: How no age ever heard before, that an Arch-Bishop of Canterbury had bee[n] adjudged in any of the Kings Courts for any cause whatsoever, in regard both of his Dignity and Place; and for that he is the Spirituall Father of the King, and all other his subjects. Then to the Bishops, You see the World rages against me, the enemy riseth up; but I more lament, the Sons of my Mother fight against me. If I should conceale it, the age to come will declare, how you leave me alone in the Battell, and have judged against me, being your Father, though never so much a sinner. But I charge you by vertue of your Obedience, and porill of your Order, that you be not present in any place of judgement, where my Person or cause comes to be adjudged. And here I appeal to the Pope: Charging you farther by Vertue of your Obedience, that if any Temporall man lay hands on me, you exercise the Sentence of the Church; as it becomes you, for your Father the Arch-Bishop, who will not shrikne howsoever, nor leave the Flocke committed unto him.

Then were all these great complaints of his Contempt, disobedience and Perjury, exhibited, and aggravated against him before the assembly, and they cryed generally he was a Traytor, that having received so many benefits at the Kings hands, would refuse to doe him all earthly honour, and observe his Lawes as he had sworne to doe. The Bishops likewise, seeing all thus bent against him, Renounced their Ecclesiastical obedience unto him, cited him to Rome, and condemned him as a perjur'd man and a Traytor.

Then the Earle of Leicester accompanied with Reginald Earle of Cornhill, came to the Arch-Bishop, and charged him from the King to answer to what was objected unto him, or else to heare his judgement. Nay, saue Earle, said he, first heare you: It is not unknowne to your selfe, how faithfully I have served the

Roger Hoveden.

Complaints
against the
Archbishop.

the King, and how in regard thereof he preferred me to the place I have (God is my witnessse) against my will. For I knew mine owne infirmities, and was content to take it upon me, rather for his pleasure, than Gods cause; therefore now doth God withdraw himselfe, and the King from me. At the time of my election he made me free from all Court bondage, and therefore touching those things from which I am delivered, I am not bound to answer, nor will I. Now much the soule is worthier than the body, so much are you bound to obey God, and me rather than any earthly creature: neither will Law or Reason permit the Sonnes to condemne the Father: And I refuse to stand eyther to the judgement of the King or any other Person; appealing to the presence of the Pope by whom onely on Earth I ought to be adjudged, committing all I have to Gods protection and his; and under this authority I depart off this place. And so went hee out and tooke his Horse, not without some difficulty in passing, and many reproaches of the Kings servants.

Being gotten out of the Court, a great multitude of the Common people (rejoycing to see him delivered) and divers of the Clergy conveyed him honourably to the Abbey of Saint Andrewes, whence disguised (by the name of Dereman) he escaped over into Flanders and so to France.

This busynesse of the Church, I have the more particularly delivered (according to the generall report of the Writers of that time) in regard it lay so chayned to the Temporall affaires of the State, and bewrayed so much of the face of that Age, with the constitution both of the Sovereignty, and the rest of the body, as it could not well be omitted. Besides, the effects it wrought in the succeeding Reigne of this Prince, the vexation, charge, and grievous burthen it layed upon him for many yeares, is worthy of note, and shewes us what spirit had predomination in that season of the World, and what Engines were used in this Oppugnation.

Presently upon the departure of this Great Prelate, the King sends over to the King of France, Gilbert Bishop of London, and William Earle of Arundell, to entreat him, not onely to forbide the Arch-Bishop his Kingdome, but to be a meanes to the Pope, that his cause might not be favoured by the Church, being so contumacious a rebell as he was against his Sovereigne Lord.

The King of France notwithstanding this intrety, sends Fryer Francis his Almoner under hand to the Pope, to beseech him, as he tendered the honour of holy Church, and the ayde of the Kingdome of France, to support the cause of Thomas of Canterbury, against the Tyrant of England.

King Henry sends likewife with all speede, Roger Arch-Bishop of Yorke, the Bishops of Winchester, London, Chester and Excester: Guido Rufus, Richard Incheستر, and John of Oxford, Clerkes: William Earle of Arundell, Hugh de Gundevile, Barnard de Saint Walleric, and Henry Fitz Gerrard, to informe the Pope of the whole cause, and prevent the Arch-Bishops complaint. The multitude and greatnessse of the Commissioners shewed the importance of the Ambassage, and the Kings earnest desire to have his cause preuale. They finde the Pope at the City of Sens, to whom, they shewed how pervers and disobedient the Arch-Bishop had behaved himselfe to his Sovereigne Lord the King of England; how he alone refused to obey his Lawes and Customes, which he had sworne to doe; and that by his peccish waywardnesse, the Church and Kingdome were like to be disturbed, which otherwise would agree in the reformation thereof, as was fit and necessary; and therfore they besought him, as he tendered the peace of the Church of England, and the love of the King their Sovereigne, not to give credit or grace, to a man of so turbulent and dangerous a spirit.

The Arch-Bishop disguised fled out of the Kingdome.

The King
sends Ambassadours to
the Pope.

This Information (notwithstanding earnestly urged) they found moved not any disposition in the Pope to favour the Kings cause, so that in the end, They besought him to send two Legats over into England, to examine the particulars of this businesse, and how it had beeene carried; and in the meane time, to admit no other information of the cause, but referre it to their relation. The Pope refuseth to send any Legat; the Commissioners depart without any satisfaction. And within foure dayes after, comes the Arch-Bishop and prostrates himselfe at the Popes feet: delivers him a copy of those Lawes, which the King called his grandfathers Lawes, which being openly read in the presence of all the Cardinals, Clergy and many other people, *The Pope condemned them for ever, and accursed those who obeyed or any way favoured them.*

Those Lawes among the Statutes of Clarendon, which the Arch-Bishop so much oppugned (and most offended the Clergy) were (as by his owne letter to the Bishop of London appeares) these especially: *That there should be no appale to the Apostolike See, without the Kings leave. That no Arch-Bishop or Bishop should goe out of the Realme but by the Kings permission. That no Bishop excommunicate any, who held of the King, in Capite, or interdict any Officiall of his without the Kings leave, &c. That Clergy men should be drawne to secular judgement. That Lay-men (as the King and others) should handle causes of the Church, Tythes, and such like.* And these were dangerous incroachments upon their Liberties.

But now the King, seeing his Ambassage to take no effect, and withall, in a manner contemned, presently makes his heavie displeasure, and the scorne he tooke, knowne by his severe Edicts, both against the Pope, and the Arch-Bishop, that they might see what edge his secular power had in this: Ordaining, *That if any were found carrying Letters, or Mandate from the Pope, or Arch-Bishop, containing any interdiction of Christianity in England, he should be taken, and without delay executed as a traitor, both to the King and Kingdome. That whatsoever Bishop, Priest, Monke or Converser in any Order, Clergie, or Layman, should have and retaine any such letters, should forfeite all their possessions, goods and chattells to the King, and be presently banished the Realme with their kinne. That no Clergymen, Monke or other should be permitted to passe over Sea, or returne out of Normandy into England, without letters from the Justices heire, or from the King being there; vpon paine to be taken as a Malefactor, and put in hold. That none should appealle to the Pope. That all Clerkes which had any revenue in England should returne into the Realme within three moneths, upon paine of forfeiting their estates to the King.*

That Peter Pence should be collected and sequestred till the Kings pleasure were farther knowne.

Besides this, he banishes all that were found to be any way of kinne to the Arch-Bishop, without exception of condition, sex, or yeares. And withall, takes occasion upon the Schisme which was then in the Church, to renounce Pope Alexander, and incline to the Emperours faction, which stood thus.

After the death of Adrian the fourth, Rowland a Genevese, and a great enemy of the Empire, is by two and twenty Cardinals elected Pope by name of Alexander the third, to which election foure Cardinals opposed, and made choice of Octavian a Citizen of Rome that would be called Vistor the fifth. The Emperor Frederic Barbarossa summons these two Popes to a Counsell at Parvia, to understand & determine their right. Alexander makes the old answer, *That the Pope could not be judged by any man living,* refuses to appear before the Emperour, & withdrawes into Anagnia. Vistor consenteth to appear there or where ever the Emperour would appoint, so that he was the man for that

1166.
Anno
Reg. 12
The Kings
Edicts against
the Pope and
his agents.

The election
of two Popes.

that side. But all the other Princes of Christendome (except those of the Emperours faction), acknowledge Alexander for Pope, as elected by most voyces. And especially by the King of France who called him thither; and at Cooy upon Loir, he and the King of England received him with all honour and reverence, in so much, as they are sayd to have attended upon his Stirrop, at Tours, whither the Kings of England, Spaine and Hungary send their Ambassadors, and there, are the constitutions of the Counsell of Parvia, and the Emperours confirmation of Vistor nullified, so that Alexander having his party daily encreasing in Italy, was shortly after received into Rome.

Notwithstanding all this, the King of England finding him so avers in this businesse, falls off from him, renounces his Authority, turnes to the Emperours faction, seekes to strengthen himselfe with the Princes of Germany, consents to match his daughter Maude to the Duke of Saxony, at the motion of Reginald Arch-Bishop of Collem, sent over by the Emperour for that purpose, and enteraines a motion for another daughter to be matched with the Emperours son.

But now by reason this contrary faction to Pope Alexander grew to bee but feeble, all this working did the King no good, but exasperates the Pope, and sets him on the more to support the cause of the Arch-Bishop, Who follieth, nor giveth way to the invader of their liberties, which sought to confound the Priest-hood and the Kingdome: and if they opposed not mainly at the first, but suffered the least breach to be made upon them, they were undone. Then excommunicates he all the especiall ministers of the King that adhered to the Tenthnicque faction, or held intelligence with the Arch-Bishop of Collem: As John of Oxford, Richard Inchester, Richard de Lucie, Iossling Balliol, Alan de Nevile, and with these all such as had entred upon the goods of the Church of Canterbury, which he called the Patrimony of the Crucifix, and the foode of the poore: and there were Ralph de Broke, Hugh Saint Clare, and Thomas Fitz Barnard. Thus are both sides busied in this drie Warre, wherein, though there were no sword, yet it gave vexation enough.

And yet this was not all the worke that tooke up the Kings time; for during this dissention, the Welsh againe revolt, and to supprese them he spent much labour, with the losse of many great men, and was himselfe in that danger, as had not Hubert Saint Clare received a Wound for him, by an Arrowaymed directly at his owne person, he had there finished his part. In this expedition he is sayd, to have used extreame crueltie.

After this, he passes into Normandy to be neare his businesse, which now lay all on that side. And first to entertaine the opinion of Piety (though he were faine out with the Pope) he obtaines at an Assembly of his Bishops and Barons of Normandy, *two pence in the pound, of every mans Lands and goods to be payd that yeare 1166. and a penny of every pound to be paid for fourte yeres following, which was levied for the relief of the Christians in the Holy War,* and sent unto them.

Then he raises forces and takes in certaine Castles in the Country of Maine, and Marches of Brittaine, from divers Lords and Barons that had disobeyed him. And whilst he was busie abroad, Mathew sonne to the Earle of Flanders (who had married the Lady Mary Abbess of Ramsey, daughter to King Stephen, and had by her the Country of Bologne) attempted something on the Coast of England, either to try the affections of the people, or to make spoyle and booty, but without any effect at all; the King being too mighty for any such weake undertaker.

Pope Alexan-
ders Letters to
the Clergy of
England.

The King re-
prefches the
Welsh.

1166.
Anno
Reg. 13.

And to distend his power yet wider, falls out this occasion: *Conan Earle of Brittaine* dyes, and leaves one onely daughter (which he had by his wife *Constance* daughter to the King of *Scots*) to succeede him in his State. The King of *England* being then in Armes upon the Marches of *Brittaine*, deales with the Guardians of the young Lady to match her to his third sonne *Geffery*. The Nobilitie of that Country being then of a rough, and haughtie disposition (given to fewds and perpetuall quarrelling one with another) were wrought upon, and a side is wonne of such as could doe most in this busynesse; which is effected to the great contention of the King of *England*.

This fell out to be in the 13. yeare of his Reigne, wherein, as some write, dyed his mother *Maudie* the Empresse, a Lady of an high and active Spirit: illustrious by her birth, but more by her first match, and most by her sonne, whom she lived to see established in all these mighty States, in the glory of Greatnesse and Peace: Fertile in issue, having now had foure sons and three daughters, linkes of love and strength (oftentimes in private families though seldome in Princes;) and she left him in the best time of his dayes before any great tempest overtooke him.

Three yeares after this he employes most in *France*, about the ordering and clearing the bounds of his Dominions from usurpation, or incroachments of neighbour Lords (whom his greatnesse held all in awe) and they must have no more than he would: especially he settles and reformes the State of *Brittaine*, which was very much out of order, and in mutiny about the late Match; which being somewhat appeased, he keepes a solemne Christmas at *Nants*, and Royally Feasts the Nobility of the Country.

The Death of Maudie the Empresse.

1169.
Anno
Reg. 16

Then returnes he into *England*, where, lest peace (by reason of his long and often absence) might afflict and corrupt his subjects, he lookes to that divine, and almighty worke of Kings, the administration of Justice, appointed certaine Commissioners as Syndicqs to examine the abuses and excesses committed by his Officers, and grievously punishes the Shriefes of the Land, for extortion and bribery.

His Easter, he keepes at *Windsor*, whither repayres unto him *William* King of *Scots* who lately succeeded *Malcolm* his brother, and brings with him his younger brother *David*, both to congratulate the King of *Englands* returne, and also continue his claime to those peeces in the North, which he pretended to be unjustly detained from that Crowne. The King entertaines him, as he had done his brother with faire words, and tells him, *How it was not in his power to doe any thing therein, without the consent of the State in Parliament;* which if he would attend, there should be that course taken, as he hoped might give him satisfaction. In expectation whereof this King came often into *England*, and once attended the King in an expedition into *France*, as his Predecessor had done before.

But now all this while, the wrath of the Church continues, and the cloud hangs still over him, daily threatening the great thunder-bolt. Although it seemed the Pope of himselfe, was not very forward to succeede to that extremity, but would gladly have quieted the Arch-Bishop otherwise; Who (he sayd) had taken an ill time for this busynesse, the King being mighty, and the Church in trouble; and therefore writes he his letters to the Bishops of *London* and *Hereford*, willing them to deale effectually with the King, and to admonish him to desist from intruding upon the liberties of the Church, and to restore the Arch-Bishop to his See and Dignity.

The Pope writes to the Bishops of England.

The Bishops answer to the Popes Letter.

The Bishops wisely answer the Popes Letter, in substance thus: We have (sayd they) done your Holiness Message, and as much as was decent for the Majestie

of a King, instantly urged him to satisfie your desire, made by us. And if he had errred from the way of truth and Justice, that he would not delay to returne thereto; that he would not inhibit such as were desirous to visit the Church of Rome, hinder appeals, oppresse Churchos and Church-men, or suffer others so to doe: That he would call home our Father the Arch-Bishop, &c. and persist in the workes of Piety; that he by whom Kings Reigne might preserve unto him his temporall Kingdome, and give him an eternall in Heaven: And that unless he would yeld to your holy Admonitions, you, who had thitherto endured, could in patience forbear no longer. Besides, we added this of our selves, how it was to be feared, if he amended not his errors, his Kingdome would not long stand, nor yet prosper.

The King received your admonitions with many thanks, much temperance and modestie, and answers to every point. First, he protested that in no sort he averted his minde from your Holiness, nor ever purposed so to doe, but so long as you shewed him fatherly Grace, he would love you as a Father; reverence and cherish the Church as his Mother. And humbly obey your sacred Decrees, saving his owne Dignity, and that of his Kingdome; and if of late he had not respected you with any reverence, the cause was that, having with all his affection, and all his power stood to you in your necessity, he was not answered worthily to his desarts upon his recourse to you by his Ambassador, but in every petition had the repulse. And for hindring any which are willing to visit your Holiness, he answers he will not, nor hath hitherto done.

But for Appeals, by the ancient custome of the Kingdome, He challenges that honour, and cumber to himselfe: that no Clergy man for any civill cause shall goe out of the Land till he had tried, whether he may obtaine his right by his Royall Authority, and Justice at home; which if he cannot, he may (without any hindrance) when he will, make his Appeal. Wherein, if any way he doth prejudice Your Honour, he offers, by the helpe of God to correct it, as it shall be ordered by the Councell of the whole Church of his Kingdome. And for the Emperour, though he knew him a Schismatique, he never understood he was excommunicate. But if he be by us informed thereof, or hath entred unlawfull league with him, or any other, he promises likewise to redresse the same, by the sayd Ecclesiasticall Councell of his Kingdome. And for our Father, the Lord of *Canterbury* (sayd he) that he never expelled him out of his Kingdome, but as he went out of his owne accord, so also at his pleasure it was free for him to returne to his Church in peace: provided, that his Majestie might be satisfied concerning those complaints of his, and have him to observe his Royall Dignitie. And if it can be proved, that any Church, or Church-man, hath beeene opprest by the King, or any of his, he is ready to make full satisfaction, as shall be thought fit by the whole Councell of the Church of his Kingdome.

This (say they) we have received in answer from our Lord the King, and wish we could have had it fully according to your desire; but these things were thought to be the conclusion of this busynesse. The King stands upon the justification of his awne cause, ready to obey the Councell and judgement of the Church of *England*. Whereupon we thought good to beseech your Highnes, that you would moderate, for a time, that zeale (which by the fire of the divine Spirit, is worthily inkndled, to revenge any injurie done to the Church of God) and forbear to pronounce any sentence of interdictio[n], or that last judgement of abfission, whereby innumerable Churches may be miserably subverted, and both the King and an infinite number of people with him, irrevocably (which God forbid) adwerted from your obediencie.

Then

Then they tell him, That better it were to have a member bad, than cut off: abfction brought desperation: A skilfull Chirurgion might recover an infected part, and how it were fitter to employ some meanes to heale the Wound, than by cutting off a most noble part of the Church of God, to bring more disturbance to the same that hath too much already: though the King were stiffe, they ought not to despair of the grace of God; that a Kings stomack was then to be wox, when he had won, and might not blush to yeeld, when he had overcome: Patience, and Meeknesse, must pacifie him, &c. And in conclusion, we speake foolishly (say they) but yet with all charity: if it come to passe, that the Lord of Canterbury lose both his goods; And live besides in perpetuall exile; and England, (which God forbid) fall away from your obedience; were it not better to forbear for a time, than with such zeale of severity to foster up a partye what if persecution cannot separate many of us from you, yet will there not want knees to bow to Baal, and receive the Pall of Canterbury at the hands of an Idol, without choyce of Religion or Justice: neyther will there want supplies of our Chayres that will obey him with all devotion, and already many devoure these hopes; wishing that scandalls may come, and straight wyes be made crooked.

Thus much out of their Letters, which are the best peeces of History in the world, and shew us more of the inside of affayres, than any relations else. And by this we truely see what barres kept these two mighty powers backe from their wills, and yet how loud they threaten, and both a feard of each other.

But the King of England stood safe enough, and was like to have his businesse runne in a strong and entire course, when by casting to make things safer than fast, hee layes open a way both to disjoyn his owne power, and imbroyle his people with division; which was by the association of his sonne Henry in the government, *an act without example in this Kingdome*, and strange that a Parliament, an assembly of the State, convoked for the same businesse, would in so wise times, consent to communicate the Crowne, and make the common-wealth a Monster with two heads. But it seemes, the strong desire of the King was such, for the love he bare his sonne, as he would not be denied in this motion, nor hold it a sufficient Security, to have twice before caused all the Kingdome to take an Oath of Fealty unto him, and to have designed, unlesse he were crowned King, as he was, with all usuall solemnities the 14. day of Inne, 1170. by Roger Arch-Bishop of Yorke, and had homage done unto him that day by the King of Scots, David his brother, and all the Nobilitie of England. But now with what reservations this was done, wee are not particularly informed: whether there was an equall participation of rule, or onely but of Title; and that the Father, notwithstanding this Act, was to have the especiall manage of the Government, and the Sonne, though a King, yet a sonne, with a limited power. Howsoever, this young King shewed shortly after, *That a Crowne was no State to be made over in trust*, and layd much grieve, and repentance, upon his Fathers forwardnesse.

What mooved the King with this precipitation (to be before hand with his Grave) may be deemed the jealousie hee had apprehended by his Mothers example, who for all the Oath of Fealty so often taken for succession, was yet put by it, through the working of the Clergy; and now considering in what termes he stood with them, and that although he had wonne some few Bishops unto him, was sure they loved him not, and what they might worke with the people, if himselfe should faile, made him over-doe his worke.

The King of France, understanding that his daughter was not Crowned with her husband (which by reason of hertender age was deferred) tooke it ill,

Prince Henry
crowned King
1170.
Anno
Reg. 10

ill, and threatens King Henry the Father with Warre, if it were not presently done; which causes him to make more haste backe againe into Normandy (leaving the young King in England) to satisfie or prevent this quarrelling Prince.

And whilst he remained there, meanes was made that the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, (who had beeene now six yeares in exile) was brought to have conference with the King, by the mediation of the King of France, Theobald Earle of Bloys, and divers great Bishops; which the King of England wasthe more willing to accept, in regard he saw this breach with the Church might much prejudice his temporall businesse, whensoever they should breake out: And how the Arch-Bishop continually was working the Pope, and all the great Prelates of the Christian World against him: which, *How much such a party as swayed the Empire of Soules might doe in a time of zeale, against a Ruler of bodies*, was to be considered. And therefore descends he from the hight of his will to his necessity, and they meeet at Montmiriall before the King of France, where the Arch-Bishop keeling at the feete of his Sovraigne Lord the King of England, sayd, *tie wold commit the whole cause in controveſie to his Royall Order, Gods honour onely reserved.*

The King (who had beeene oftenused to that reservation) grew into some choller, and sayd to the King of France, and the rest, *Whatsocver displeaseth this man, he wold have to be against Gods honour, and so by that shift, will challenge to himselfe all that belongs to me: But because you shal not think me to goe about to resist Gods honour, and him, in what shall be fit, looke what the greatest and most holy of all his predecessors have done to the meanest of mine, let him doe the same to me, and it shal suffice.* Which answer being, beyond expectation, so reasonable, turn'd the opinion of all the company to the Kings cause, in so muchas the King of France, sayd to the Arch-Bishop, *Will you be greater than Saints? better than Saint Peter? what can you stand upon? I see it is your fault, if your peace be not made.* The Arch-Bishop replies to this effect: *that as the authority of Kings had their beginning by degrees, so had that of the Church, which being now by the providence of God, come to that estate it was, they were not to follow the example of any, that had beeene faint or yeelding in their places: The Church had risen, and increased out of many violent oppressions, and they were now to hold what it had gotten.* Our Fathers (sayd he) suffered all manner of afflictions, because they would not forsake the name of Christ, and shall I, to be reconciled to any mans favour living, derogate any thing from his honour?

This haughty reply of a subject to so yeelding an offer of his Sovraigne, so much distasted the hearers, as they held the maintenance of his cause, rather to proceede from obstinacy than zeale, and with that impression, the conference for that time, brake up. But after this, were many other meetings, and much debate about the businesse. And the King of France, (at whose charge lay the Arch-Bishop all this while) came to another conference with them, upon the Confines of Normandy: Where, the King of England tooke the Arch-Bishop apart, and had long speech with him; twice they alighted from their horses, twice remounted, and twice the King held the Arch-Bishops bridel, and so againe they part, prepared for an attencion, but not concluding any. In the end by mediation of the Arch-Bishop of Rouen, the matter is quietly ended before the Earle of Bloys, at Amboys. And thereupon Henry the Father, writes to Henry the sonne, being then in England, in this wise: *I know yec that Thomas Arch-Bishop of Canterbury hath made peace with me (to my will) and therefore I charge you, that he and all his have peace; and that you cause to be restored unto him, and to all such (as for him) went out of England, all their substances, in as full*

Becket's sub-
mission to
the King.

The King's offer
to Becket.

Becket's reply.

The King and
Becket accorde-
ded.

The Life and Reigne of Henry the second.

Becket re-
turnes into
England.

full and honorable manner, as they heldist three moneths before their going, &c.
And thus by this letter we see, in which King the command lay.

The Arch-Bishop returning into England, not as one who had sought his peace, but inforsed it, with larger power to his resolution than before, suspends by the Popes Bull, the Arch-Bishop of Yorke from all Episcopall Office, for crowning the young King within the Province of Canterbury, without his leave, and against the Popes Commandement; and without taking (according to the custome) the Cautionarie Oath, for conservation of the liberties of the Church. He brought also letters to suspend in like manner, The Bishops of London, Salisbury, Oxford, Chester, Rochester, Saint Asaph, and Landaff, for doing service at the Coronation, and upholding the Kings cause against him. And by, these letters were they all to remaine suspended, till they had satisfied the Arch-Bishop in so much as he thought fit.

Thus to retorne home, shewed that he had the better of the time, and came all untyed, which so terrified the Bishops that presently (having no other refuge) they repaire to the King in Normandy, and shewed him this Violent proceeding of the Arch-Bishop, *How since his returne he was growne so impri-
ous as there was no living under him.* Wherewith the King was so much moued, as he is sayd in extreame passion to have uttered these words; *In what a
miserable State am I, that cannot be quiet, in mine owne Kingdome, for one onely
Priest? Is there no man will ridde me of this trouble.* Whereupon (they report) foure Knights, Sir Hugh Morville, Sir William Tracy, Sir Richard Brittaine, and Sir Raynold Fitz Vrs, (then attending upon the King, and gessing his deare by his words) depart presently into England, to be the unfortunate executioners of the same: but by some it seemes rather, these foure Gentlemen were sent with Commission from the King to deale with the Arch-Bishop in another manner, *And first to wish him to take his Oath of Fealty to the young
King: then to restore these Bishops to the execution of their function: and thirdly
to beare himselfe with moderation in his place, whereby the Church might
have comfort upon his returne, and the Kingdome quietnesse.*

But they finding the Arch-Bishop not answering their humour, but peremptory and untractable, without regarding their Masters message, grew into rage, and first from threatening force, fell to commit it, and that in an execrable manner: putting on their armour (to make the matter more hideous) they entred into the Church, whither the Arch-Bishop was withdrawne, the Monks a divine Service; and there calling him Traitor, and furiously reviling him, gave him many wounds, and at length strake out his braines, that with his blood be sprinkled the Altar. His behaviour in this act of death, his courage to take it: his passion in committing the cause of the Church, with his soule to God and his Saints: the place, the time, the manner and all aggravates the hatred of the deede, and makes compassion and opinion, to be on this side.

The unfortunate Gentlemen (having effected this great great service, rifled the Arch-Bishops house, and after weighing the foulenesse of what they had committed, and doubtfull whether the King, though they had done him a great pleasure, would seeme so to acknowledge it) withdrew themselves into the North-parts; and from thence pursued, fled into severall Countries, where they all within foure yeares after (as is reported) dyed miserable Fugitives.

Soone ranne the rumor of this deed, with full mouth over all the Christian world, every pen that had passion, was presently set on Worke. The King of France (himselfe) informes the Pope of the whole manner; with aggrava-

The murthe-
ring of
Becket.

The Murthe-
ring's miser-
able end.

The King of
France in-
formes the
Pope of Be-
cket's murthe-

The Life and Reigne of Henry the second.

vation of the foulenesse thereof, and incites him to use the most exquisite punishment he could, *To unsheathe Peters sword, to revenge the death of the Martyr of Canterbury, whose blood cries out for all the Church, and whose divine glory was already revealed in miracles.*

Theobald Earle of Bloys, a great and grave Prince (elder brother to King Stephen) sends likewise his information to the Pope, and shewes him, *Now he
was at the peace-making betweene the King of England and this blessed Martyr;
and with what a chearefull countenance, with what willingnesse the King confir-
med the agreement, granting him power to use his authority as it shoulde please the
Pope and him against those Bishops, which had contrary to the right and dignitie of
the Church of Canterbury, presumed to intrude the New King into the Royall
throane. And this he would justifie by his Oath, or howsover; and in this peace
(faith he) the man of God doubting nothing, puts his necke under the sword: this
innocent Lambe the morrow upon Saint Innocents day, suffered Martyrdome: the
just blood was shed, where the shot of our salvation, the blood of Christ is offered.* And then, how Court dogs, the Kings familiars & domestickes, were his ministers to execute this horrible afft, concluding with an exhortation likewise of revenge.

But William Arch-Bishop of Sens comes with a more maime out-cry, as if he would, wake the Pope, were he never so dead asleepe; and tels him, *How
he was appointed over Nations and Kingdomes, to bind their Kings in fetteres, and
their Nobles with manacles of Iron: that all power both in heaven and earth, was
given to his Apostleship: bids him looke how the Boce of the Wood had rooted up
the Vineyard of the Lord of Saboth, &c. and all, in that most powerfull phrase of
holy writ. And after, having bitterly enveyed against the King, uses these
words: *It imports you, O most milde keeper of the Walls of Ierusalem, to revenge
that which is past, and provide for the future. What place shall be safe, if the rage
of tyrannie shall imbue the Sancta Sanctorum with blood, and tear in pieces the
Vice-gerents of Christ, the foster children of the Church, without punishment?**

Such and so great was the uprore of the Church raised upon these motives, as notwithstanding the King of England, (then the greatest Prince of all the Christian world) imployed the most espeiall men could be chosen in all his Dominions, for reputation, learning and judgement, to declare his innocencie to the Pope: to vow and protest that he was so far from willing such a deede to be done, as he was from doing it himselfe, and how grievously he tooke the matter when hee heard thereof; yet so deepe was the impression settled before hand, and his name made so odious at Rome, as not onely the Pope denied Audience to his Ambassadors, but every Cardinall, and all other his Ministers, refused to have any conference with them. Which, with the hard passage they had in going thither, by the many dangers and restraints they endured, and now the contempt they found there, did (as they signified to the King) much discourage them. Yet for all this, were there those brave Spirits among them, (as great Princes have alwayes great Ministers) that never gave over working to cleare their maisters honour, by Apologies, Remonstrances, and all whatsoeuer wit could devise; and dealt so, as they kept off the great confounding blow of the highest Censure, though it were every day threatened and expected. And having (by gravely urging the mischicfes, might follow in the Church; if a King of so great a State and stomacke, should be driven to take desperate courses) given some pause, and allay to the fist heat; they tilded it out all that Spring, and a great part of the next Summer; when, although they could give the King no great security, yet they advertise him of hope. But the sending of two Cardinals a Latere, Gratianus and Vivianus

The Earle of
Bloys informs
likewise.

The A chbi-
shop of Sens
writes to the
Pope.

The King de-
clares his in-
nocency by
Enballage to
the Pope.
Pope and Car-
dinals denied
audience, re-
fused conte-
rence.

The conquest
of Ireland.

Vivians downe into Normandy, did exceedingly vexe him. For they were rough againt him, and would have interdicted him, and his Domitians: but being forewarned of their comming and intention, he appeals to the presence of the Pope, and so put off that trouble. Returning out of Normandy, into England, he gives strict commandement, That no briefe-carrier of what condition or order soever, without giving good security for his behaviour to the King and Kingdome, be suffered to passe the Seas.

Notwithstanding all the vexation the Church put this King into, hee left nothing undone that concerned the advancement of his affaires, but as if now the rather, to shew his power, and greatness, takes this time for an expedition into Ireland (having commaunded a Navie of four hundred ships to be ready at Milford Haven for the transportation of Men, Victuals, and Armour) and sets forth in the beginning of November, an unseasonable time, both for those Seas, and the invasion of a Countrey, not well knowne. But the businesse (it seemes) was well prepared for him, having had an intention thereof, ever since the second yeare of his Reigne, in which *Hee sent a solempne Ambassage to Pope Adrian the fourth, to crave leave for the subdument of that Country, under pretence of reducing those rude people from their vicious fashions to the faith and way of truth.* Which the Pope willingly granted, and returnes the Ambassadours, with an autenticall concession thereof in writing, to this effect. First, shewing how laudable a thing it was, and how fitting the magnificence of so mighty a King, to propagate his gloriouse name on earth, and heape up reward of eternall felicity in Heaven, by extending the bounds of the Church, reducing rude and unlettered people from their vicious manners, to the verity of the Christian faith and civility. And then gives him power to invade the same, and to execute what soever should be to the Honour of God, and good of the Countrey, with reservation of Church-rights, and Peterpence (a penny of every house yearly, which he had promised by his Ambassadours) and so concludes, with an exhortation to plant men of good and exemplar life in the Clergy, &c.

Dermots com-
plaint against
O'Conor to
King Henry.Dermots of-
fences.

But the King at that time, having other occasions, left off the purpose of this, which comes now of late to be againe embraced by this meanes: *Dermot Mac Murrgh one of the five Kings which then ruled that Island, comes into Aquitaine to crave his ayde against Rodorick the Great, called O' Conor Dun, King of Connnaught, who contending for the Sovereignty of the whole, had chased him out of his Dominion of Lemster.*

The King of England (glad to finde a doore thus opened to his intention, that might yeld passage of it selfe without being broken up) intaynes this ejected King with promises of ayde; and though he could not as then furnish him, being ingaged in other great affaires, hee yet permits such of his subjects as would, to adventure their Fortunes with him. But the occasion, of dissencion, betweene these two Irish Kings was indeed foule on the part of Dermot, who had corrupted, and stolne away the wife of Rodorick, and for that odious injurie, with his injustice to his people (the common causes of ruining & transferring Kingdomes) he was by strong hand chased out of his Dominion of Lemster; and thereupon makes out for Forraine ayde. And (having thus dealt with the King of England) hee betakes him into Wales, where first hee wrought one Robert Fitz Stephen, a man of a desperate Fortune (yet able to draw many voluntaries) to contract with him; and afterward Richard (of the House of Clare) surnamed Strong-bow, Earle of Pembroke, commonly called (of his chiefe seate, in Monmouth-shire) Earle of Chepstow, or Strigill, a Lord of high courage and wothiness, which made him well followed;

and

and of great possessions both in England and Normandy, which gave him meanes for his entertainments. *Fitz Stephen was perswaded by promise of rich rewards; the Earle of marriage with Eva the daughter of Dermot, and the succession of the kingdome of Lemster.*

Fitz Stephen with Maurice Fitz Gerard, his halfe brother by the mother, passed over first with a small company, and landed at the place called by the Irish Bag-bun, which in English signifies Holy, and therefore interpreted as presaging good successe, whereof his rime retaines yet the memory, At the head of Bagge and Bun Ireland was lost and wonne. And the next day after arrived at the same place, *Maurice de Prendergast*, with other men at Armes, and many Archers in two ships, parcell of *Fitz Stephens* forces, which from thence marched to the City of Weisford with Banners displayed, in so strange a forme and order (though their number were not four hundred) as the Irish unacquainted with so unusuall a face of warre, were overcome with feare, and rendred up themselves to their mercy, with their City of Weisford, which with the Countrey about was given by Dermot to *Robert Fitz Stephen*, for an incouragement to him, and hope to others. And there was planted the first Colonie of the English, which ever since hath continued, retaining still in a sort our ancient attire, & much of our language, proper onely to that City and Countrey about, and called by a distinct name Weisford speech.

The next yeaire are new supplies sent out of Wales, and after, upon intelligence of good successe, the Earle of Pembroke arrives in the Bay of Waterford with two hundred men at Armes, and a thousand other souldiers, takes the Towne, which was then called Porthlarge, puts the inhabitants to the sword, (to give terror to others, and make roome for his owne people) and there Dermot gives him his daughter in mariage, with the dowry of his Countrey; which, after his wickednesse had done, hee lived not to see more yeaires (having had too many by this) and dyes miserably, leaving the Stile of Ningal (which signifies) *the strangers friend*, added to his name in memory of his unnaturall forsaking his owne Nation.

Strong-bow, after having secured the places gotten, marches with those small forces hee had over the Iland without resistance. *Rodorick the great* (shewing himselfe but a little Prince) kept in the Wildes and fastnesses of Connnaught, and never came to appeare before the enemy; who passing through the countrey at his pleasure, takes what pledges he would of the inhabitants, to secure their obedience, and with as little labour possest himself of the City of Dublin the head of the Iland.

Thus Wales got us first the Realme of Ireland, and (which is most strange) without streeke of battaile: a thing scarce credible, that a Countrey so populous, a Nation of that disposition should not lift up a hand to defend it selfe, having, it seemes, either neglected the use of armour, or else never beene acquainted with them (other than in a naked manner of domestick fight one with another) whereby, the terror of strange & never before seene forces in order of warre, laid them prostrate to the mercy of the over-runner.

But the King of England advertised of the prosperous successe of these Adventurers and the estate of the countrey, grew in jealousy of them, thinking they presumed farther than their subjection would allow, and would make them selves that which they must be made by him, and take away the glory of the worke that should be onely his, causes proclamation to be made: *that no vessel should carry any thing out of his dominions into Ireland, and that all his subjects should retayne from thence, and leave off their attempts, otherwise to forfeit*

The Conquest
of Ireland.Triginta mil-
libus.The begin-
ning of May.

1170.

Anno
Reg. 16

1171.

Anno
Reg. 17

1172.
Anno
Reg. 18The Irish Kings
submission.Henry's refor-
mation of Ire-
land.

forfeit their Estates at home. And withall sends over *William Fitz Adelm*, and *Robert Fitz Bernard* with some forces to prepare the way for him, who followed shortly after, & lands eight miles from Waterford the Eve of Saint Luke, Anno 1172, being the third year after the first Invasion made by *Fitz Stephen*.

At his first landing, a white Hart starting out of a Bush was taken, and presented to him, interpreted as a presage of a white Victory. The next day he marches to Waterford, where hee stayed fifteene dayes; and thither came to him of their owne accord, the Kings of Corke, Limrick, Oxery, Mest, and all of any power in Ireland (except *Rodorick King of Connacht*, who still kept himself in the fastnesse of his Countrey) & submitted themselves with all the Clergy, taking their Oath of fealty to him & the young King, & their successors for ever; so these divided Princes holding no common Councell for the publicke safety, rather than to joyn those hands that had so often scratched each other, fell all from themselves, & with the same emulation they had in liberty, strove for their servitude, who would be first to receive a forraire Master.

From Waterford the King goes to Dublin, where he holds an Assembly of all these subject Kings, with the Lords Spirituall & Temporall of Ireland, for the further ratification of their allegiance, and the ordering and reformation of the State. Which done, he causes the Bishops with the Clergy there to assemble at Cassell, and appoints an especiall Chaplaine of his owne, with the Archdeacon of Landaff to be Assistants & advisors unto them for reformation of Church businesse, which seemest to have beeene as disordered as the people. For though the Irish had beeene long before Christians, it was after a wilde and mixt fashion; and therefore, according to his promise made to the late Pope, and to doe a worke pleasing to the present, it was decreed, That all Church-lands should be free from exaction of secular men; and that from thenceforth, all divine things should be ordered and used in every part of Ireland according to the maner of the church of England, being fit (as saith the Canon) that as Ireland hath by Gods mercy obtained a Lord & K. out of England, so from thence they should receive a better forme of life and manners, than heretofore they used.

His Christmase he keeps at Dublin, where he royally feasts all Kings and great men of the Countrey; the rest of his being there he employs in fortifying and planting Gartisons where most need required: he makes *Hugh Lacy* Justice of all Ireland, gives him the keeping of Dublin, and besides confirmed unto him and his heires by his Charter, the Countrey of Mest to hold the same in Fee, for the service of a hundred Knights: he bestowes on *Robert Fitz Bernard* the keeping of the Townes of Waterford and Weisford (which he tooke from *Fitz Stephen* the first invadör) with charge to build Castles in them; and to humble the Earle Strongbow, and levell him with the rest of his subjects, he takes from him all his dependants, and makes them his.

So was it but his winters worke to get a kingdome, which though thus easily won, it proved more difficult and costly in the keeping, by reason the prosecution of a full establishment thereof was neither by him nor his successors (having other diversions) ever throughly accomplished.

On Easter monday hee sets out for England, where he makes no stay, but takes the young King along in his company, and passes over into Normandy, to meeete other two Legates [*Theobodus* and *Albertus*] who were sent from Pope Alexander (but in milder fashion than the last) to examine the murther of the late Archbishop *Becket*. Four moneths were spent in debating the matter, and in the end, the King by his Oath taken upon the Reliques of Saints, and the holy Evangelists, before the two Legates in the presence of

of King Henry the sonne, the Archbishop of Rouen, and all the Bishops, and Abbots of Normandy in the Citle of *Auranches* purged himselfe of either commanding or consenting to the murtier. Yet for that he doubted lest they who committed the same might bee moved therunto by seeing him disturbed, and in passion: hee tooke the same Oath, that in satisfaction thereof, hee would faithfully performe these Articles following: First, never to forsake Pope Alexander, nor his Catholick successors so long as they used him as a Catholick King. Secondly, that Appeals should freely be made to the Pope, in cases Ecclesiasticall. Provided, that if any were suspected to worke evill to him, or his kingdome, they should then put iiii security before they departed. Thirdly, that hee would (from Christmas next for three yeares to come) undertake the coroue, and the summer following, in person to goe to Ierusalem, unless he were staid by the Pope or his successors, or employed against the money into the Templars hands, as by their opinion would entertaine 200 souldiers in the holy Warre for one yeare. Fiftly, call home all such as had endured baily, abolish all such customes as in his time had beeene introduced to the prejudice of the Church. After himself had sworne, he caused King Henry his son to sweare to all these Articles, except such as concerned his owne person. And for a more memory in the Roman Church, he caused his Seale to be set unto them, with that of the two Cardinals: So ended this tedious busynesse, that made more noyse in the world than any hee had, and bowed him more: being his ill fortune to grapple with a man of that free resolution as made his sufferrings, his glory: had his ambition, beyond this world, set up his rest, not to yeeld to a King, was onely ingaged to his cause, had opinion and beleefe to advanced him; and now is he faine to kneele and pray to his Shrine, whom hee had disgraced in his person; and having had him above his will whilst he lived, bath him now over his faith being dead. And yet forty eight yeares after this, saith the French History, it was disputed among the Doctors of Paris, whether hee were damned or saved: And one Roger a Norman maintained, hee had justly deserved death, for rebelling against his Sovereigrie the Minister of God.

To make the better way to the ending of this busynesse, & content the King of France, Henry the son is againe crowned, and with him *Margaret* his wife, with permission shortly after to goe visite Paris; where, this young King, apt enough (though not to know himselfe) yet to know his State, received those instructions as made his ambition quite turne off his obedience, and conceive, How to be a King was to be a power above, and undenyable.

And to further the birth of this apprehension, fell out this occasion. The Father ever awake to advance his greatnessse, takes a journey in person into *Avernia*, and so to *Monserrato*, and there purchases a match for the price of five thousand Markes, for his youngest sonne *John*, with *Alice* the eldest daughter of *Herbert*, Earle of *Mauricen* (then as it seemes) Lord of *Piemont* & *Savoy*; with condition to have with her the inheritance of all those Countries, containing many great Signories, Cities, and Castles, specified in *Roger Houeden*, with all the circumstances and covenants, very remarkeable of the contract. Sounto greatnessse (that easier increases than begins) is added more meanes, and every way opens to this active and powerfull King, advantages of State, in so much, as the King of France was even surrounded with the power and dependances of this mighty King of England, whose Fortunes most

His purgation
for Becket's
murther.Both Kings
sweare to these
Articles.Henry the son
is againe crow-
ned with Mar-
garret his wife.

The Life and Reigne of Henry the second.

1173.

Anno

Reg. 19

The homage
of Raymond
Earle of Saint
Gyles for the
Earledome of
Tbolouse.

Henry the son
takes displea-
ture against
his father.

most of all the neighbour Princes (which subsist by other, than their owne power) now follow. And being returned from concluding this match in Piemont, there comes to him lying at Limoges, Raymond Earle of Saint Gyles (by whom was given the first affront hee had in France) now to doe homage unto him for the Earledome of Tholouse ; And there became the man of the King of England, and of his sonne Richard Earle of Poitou, to hold Tholouse from them (by hereditary right) for service of comming unto them upon their summons, and remaining in their service forty dayes at his own charge : And if they would entertaine him longer, to allow him reasonable expences. Besides, the Earle should pay yearlye for Tholouse and the appertinances, a hundred Markes of silver, or ten horses worth ten Markes a-peice !

About the same time also came the Earle Hubert to Limoges (to know what Land the King of England would assure his sonne John) who resolved to give unto him the Castles of Chinon, Lodun and Mirable. Wherewith King Henry the sonne grew much displeased, and here moved his Father, either to resign unto him the Duchy of Normandie, the Earledome of Aniou, or the kingdome of England for his maintenance : in which motion, hee was the more eger being incensed by the King of France, and the discontented Lords, both of England, and Normandy, who were many, and false, or wrought from the Father upon new hopes, and the advantage of a devised Sovereignty.

And though there were many other occasions of this defection of the sonne, from the Father ; yet, that this for these Castles should first be taken (may seeme to be the worke of GODS speciall judgement) being those peeces, which himselfe had taken from his owne naturall brother Geffery, contrary to his Oath made unto his Father, as is before related : so (as it to tell injustice, that it must bee duly repayed) the same Castles are made to bring mischiefe upon him, and to give a beginning to the foulest discord that could bee : Wherein hee had nor onely the children of his owne body, but the wife of his owne bed to confire and practise against him.

For, hereupon the sonne suddainly breaking away from the Father, came to Paris, where, the King of France (who had no other meanes to prevent the over-growing of a neighbour but to divide him) summons and solicites the Princes of France, and all the friends he could make, to ayde King Henry the sonne against the father, and to take their Oath, either to depose him of his Estate, or bring him to their own conditions. The young King likewise sweares unto them, never to have peace with his father without their consents, and all sweares to give unto Philip Earle of Flanders for his ayde, a thousand pounds English by the yeare, with the County of Kent, Dover, and Rochester Castles : To Mathew Earle of Bologne brother to the said Earle, for his service, Kerton Soak in Lindsey, the Earledome of Morton with the Honor of Heize : To Theobald Earle of Bloys, two hundred pounds by yeare in Aniou : the Castle of Amboys with all the right hee pretended in Tureine, &c. And all these Donations with divers others, hee confirmed by his new Seale, which the King of France caused to be made. - Besides, by the same Seale, Hee confirmed to the King of Scots for his aide all Northumberland unto Tyne : and gave to the brother of the same King for his service, the Earledomes of Huntington and Cambridge : To the Earle Hugh Bigot the Castle of Norwich : other Earles of England, as Robert Earle of Leicester, Hugh Earle of Chester, Roger Mowbray, &c. had likewise their rewards and promises of the Lyonskin, that was yet alive.

Besides,

The Life and Reigne of Henry the second.

101

Besides, they draw into their party Richard and Geffery, whose youths (apt to be wrought on for the increase of their allowance) are easily intised ; and with them their mother enraged with jealousy, & disdaine for her husbands conceiv'd abuse of her bed. So that this great King in the middest of his glory, about the twentieth yeare of his reigne, comes suddenly forsaken of forces ; procuring twenty thousand Brabansons (which were certaine Mercenaries commonly called Routs or Costerels) for the recovery and holding of his Estate. And some few faithfull Ministers he had (notwithstanding this generall defection) who tooke firmly to him : as William Earle Mandevile, Hugh de Lacy, Hugh de Beauchamp, &c.

But howsoever we have seene the best of this Kings glory, and though hee had after this, good successes, he had never happiness ; labour he did by all meanes to have qualified the heate of his distempered sonne, by many mediations of peace ; offering all convenient allowances for his Estate, but all would not prevale : his sword is drawne, and with him the King of France, with all his forces enters upon his Territories on that side the Sea ; on this the King of Scots seizes upon Northumberland, and makes great spoyles. The old King complaines to the Emperour, and all the neighbour Princes his friends, of the unnaturall courses of his sonne, and of his owne improvident advancing him. William King of Sicile writes, and condoles his misfortunes, but lay too farre off to helpe him.

The King of France besieges Vernoul, a place of great strength and importance, which Hugh de Lacy, and Hugh de Beauchamp valiantly defended, and after a monthes siege, they of the Towne (viuals fayling) obtained truce of the king of France, and permission to send unto their Soveraigne for succour, which if it came not within three dayes, they would render the city, and in the meane time their hostages. The peremptorie day was the Eve of Saint Lawrence. The King of France with King Henry the sonne, and with divers great Lords and Bisshops swore, if they rendred the Citie at the day appointed, their hostages should be re-delivered, and no dammage done to the Citie.

King Henry the Father with all the forces hee could make, came just at the limited day, disposes his Army to strike Batraile with his enemies ; but the King of France (to avoyde the same) sends the Archbishop of Sens, and the Earle of Bloys to mediate a parle, which was appointed the morrow : this day lost, lost Vernoul. For, to the morrow-parle, the King of France neither comes, nor sends ; but had entrance into the Towne (according to covenants) which contrary to his Oath, hee sacks, takes with him the hostages, and spoyle thereof, removes his Campe, and leaves the King of England disappointed ; who that night, after having pursued the flying Army with some spoyle, enters into Vernoul, and the morrow surprises Dauile a Castle of his enemies, with many Prisoners. Thence he goes to Rouen, whence hee sent his Brabansons into Britaine against Hugh Earle of Chester, and Ralph Fulgiers, who had possesse themselves almost of the whole Countrey ; but being notable to resist the Kings forces in the Field, they with all the great men in those parts, and that side of France, recovered the Castles of Dole ; where, they fortified and kept themselves, till King Henry the Father came in person, besieged and tooke it ; and with them, about fourre score Lords, men of name and action. Whereupon all the rest of the Countrey, yeeded themselves.

This overthrow being of such import, so terrified the Adversaries, as they

The Life and Reigne of Henry the second.

they negotiate a Peace, and a Parle is appointed betweene Gisors and Try, where in the King of England, (though he had the better of the day) condescended to make offer to his sonne Of halfe the revenues of the Crowne of England, with fourt convenient Castles therein, or if he had rather remaine in Normandie, halfe the revenues thereof, and all the revenues of the Earldome of Aniou, &c. To his sonne Richard he offers halfe the revenues of Aquitaine, and fourt Castles in the same. To Goffrey, the Land that should come unto him by the daughter of the Earle Conon. Besides, he submitted himselfe to the arbitration of the Archbisshop of Tarento, and the Papes Legates, to addo any allowance more as in their judgments should be held fit, reserving unto himselfe his Justice & Royall power : which yeelding grants, shewed how much he desired this peace.

But it was not in the purpose of the King of France, that the same should take effect : for such perversnesse and indignity, was offered to King Henry in this Treaty, as Robert Earle of Leicester, is said to have reproached him to his face, and offered to draw his sword upon him ; so that, they brake off in turbulent manner, & their troupes fell presently to bickering betweene Curtes, and Gisors, but the French had the worse.

The Earle of Leicester with an Army makes over into England, is received by Hugh Bigot into the Castle of Fressingham. Richard de Lucy Chiefe Justice of England, and Humfrey Bohun the Kings Constable, being upon the borders of Scotland, hearing thereof, makes truce with the King of Scots. And hasted to Saint Edmondsbury where the Earles of Cornwall, Gloucester, and Arundell joyne with them ; they encounter the Earle of Leicester, at a place called Farham, overthrew his Army, slew tennethousand Flemings, tooke him, his Wife, and divers great Prisoners, which were sent unto the King in Normandy, who, with his Army was nothere idle, but daily got Castles, and Forts from his enemies, untill Winter constrained both Kings to take truce till Easter following ; and the like did the Bishop of Duresme with the King of Scots, for which hee gave him three thousand Markes of silver, to bee payed out of the Lands of the Barons of Northumberland.

The Spring came on, and the truce expired : King Henry the Sonne, and Philip Earle of Flanders, are ready at Graveling, with a great Army for England. The King of Scot is entered Northumberland, and sends his brother David with a power to succour the remnant of the forces of the Earle of Leicester, which held the Towne of Leicester, but without successe : for Richard Lucy, and the Earle of Cornwall had before razed the City, and taken Robert Mowbray, comming likewise to ayde those of the Castle.

King Henry the Father upon his sonnes preparation for England, drawes his forces from his other employments, and brings them downe to Bursfleet, arrivis at Southampton with his Prisoners, Queene Elionor, Margarets the wife of his sonne Henry, the Earles of Leicester and Chester, and from thence goes to Canterbury to visit the Sepulchre of his owne Martyr, and performing his vowes for his victories. And they write how comming within sight of the Church, He alights, and went three miles on his bare feete, which with the hard stones were forced to yeeld bloody tokens of his devotion on the way. And as, if to recompence (thererit of the Worke) they note, How the very day when hee departed from Canterbury, the King of Scots to be overthrown and taken at Alnwick, by the Forces of the Knights of Yorkshire, which are named to be, Robert de Stutville, Odonel de Hamfreston, William de Vesby, Ralph de Glanville, Ralph de Tilly, and Bernard Baliol.

Leuis King of France hearing of King Henrys passage into England, and the

1174.
Anno
Reg. 20
Henry the f-
athers arrivall
in England.

King Henry vi-
sites Becketts
Sepulchre.

The Life and Reigne of Henry the second.

the taking of the King of Scots, calls back Henry the sonne, and the Earle of Flanders from Graveling, where they stayed expecting the Wind, and besieged Roan on all sides saving that of the River. The whilst King Henry is quietingdon rendred unto his mercy, saving the lives and members of the Defendants ; then the Castles of Fressingham and Bungay, which the Earle of Bigot held by force of Flemings, for whom the Earles submission could hardly obtaine pardon, but in the end they were sent home. From thence he goes to Northampton, where hee receives the King of Scots his prisoner, and the Castles of Duresme, Norham, and Aluerton rendred into his hands by the Bishop of Duresme ; who, for all his service done in the North, stood not cleare in the Kings opinion. There came likewise thither Roger de Mowbray, yeelding up himselfe with his Castle of Treske : The Earle Ferrers his Castle of Tisbury and Duffield : Anketill, Mallory, and William D'ye Con-Groby, so that within three weekes all England was quieted, and all without drawing of sword, which in those manly dayes seemed onely reserved.

This done, and supplied with onethousand Welshmen : King Henry with his Prisoners, the King of Scots, the Earles of Leicester and Chester, passes over into Normandy, to the relief of Roan : where those thousand Welshmen sent over the River Sence, entred and made way through the Campe of the King of France, slew a hundred of his men, and recovered a Wood without any losse of theirs. After which exploit, the King of England (causing the Gates of the City to be set open, the Barracadoes taken away, the trenches they had made, betwene the French Campe and the City, to bee filled up againe, with rubbish and timber) marched forth with troupes, to provoke the enemy, but without any answer at all. In the end, the King of France, sends away the weakest of his people before, and followed after with the rest, upon sufferance of the King of England, by the mediation of the Arch-bishop of Sens, and the Earle of Bayys, who undertooke that he should the next day come to a parle of peace, which he performed not.

But shortly after (seeing this action had so little advantaged either him, or those for whom hee pretended to have undertaken it) hee employes the former Agents againe to the King of England : and peace, with a reconciliation is concluded betweene him and his sonnes. But with more reservation on his part, than had beene by the former treaty offered, as having now more of power, and the advantage of fortitude, and yet yeelding so much, as shewed, The goodness of his nature was not over-swayed with his ambition ; all his proceeding in this Warre witnesssing, that necessity did ever worke more than his will.

And at the signing of the Charter of this Peace, when his sonne Henry would have done him homage (which is personall service) he refused to take it, because he was a King, but received it of Richard and Goffrey. Yet after this, Henry the sonne to free his Father of all scruple, became his Liege man, and swore fealty unto him against all men, in the presence of the Arch-bishop of Rouen, the Bishop of Bayeux, the Earle Grandeville, and a great Nobility.

At the concluding of this same Peace, the Earle of Flanders yeelded up to King Henry the Father, the Charter made unto him by the sonne, for the remuneration, and had another confirmed for the pension he had yearlye out of England before this War, which was 1000 Markes out of the Exchequer, afterward granted upon condition of homage, and for finding the King of

The King of
Scots his pri-
soner.

King Henry
favours the
French Army.

The King and
his sonne re-
conciled as the
Charter of
Peace shewes,
Roger Housen.

The Life and Reigne of Henry the second.

England yearly five hundred souldiers for the space of forty dayes upon summons given.

This same busynesse ended, the Father and the Sonne makes their Proffesses into all their Provinces on that side, to visite and reforme the disorders of Warre, and to settle their affaires there. Richard is sent into Aquitaine, and Gefferic into Brittaine upon the same busynesse, and there left with their Counsels to looke to their owne.

The two Kings, Father and Sonne, shortly after returne into England, where reformation in the Government needed as much as in France; and here had the Archbishop of Canterbury summoned a Councell of the Clergie, wherein were many enormities of the Church reformed, as may bee seene in the Canons of that Synod. The King supplies all vacancies, and gives to John de Oxenford (that great Minister of his) the Bishoprick of Norwich: Thentakes hee into his hands all the Castles hee could seise upon, amongst other the Towre of Bristol, which was rendered by the Earle of Gloucester, and was never in his hands before. He takes penalties both of Clerkes and Lay-men, who had trespassed his forrests in time of hostilitie: for which he is taxed of wrong, Richard Lucy Justice of England, having warrant by the Kings precept to discharge them for the same. But the profit which they ycedded him, made him take the stricter regard therin. For after the death of Alaine de Nausle which had beeene chiefe Justice of all the Forrests of England, hee divides them into divers parts, appointing to every part fourre Justices, whereof two to be Clerkes, and two Knights, and two Servants of his Household to be keepers of the Game over all other Forresters, either of the Kings, Knights, or Barons whatsover, and gave them power to implea, according to the Aise of the Forrest.

The King being at Yorke, there came unto him William King of Scots, with almost all the Bishops, Abbots, and Nobility of Scotland, and confirmed the peace and finall concord which had formerly beeene in the time of his imprisonment at Falaise in Normandy, before all the greatest Estates of both Kingdome; the Tenor whereof is to be seene in Roger Houeden.

After this, a Councell is called at Windsor, whither repaire certaine Bishops of Ireland, and the Chancelour of Roderrick King of Connnaught, for whom a finall concord is concluded, upon doing Homage, Fealty, and a Tribute to be paid, which was, Of every ten Beasts, one sufficient Hide, within his Kingdome, and those Provinces that held thereof.

Within a while after, a Councel or Parliament is assembled at Nottingham, & by advise & consent thereof, the K. caused the kingdome to be divided into six parts, and constitutes for every part three Justices itinerants, causing them to take an Oath upon the holy Evangelists, faithfully for themselves to observe, and cause inviolably to be observed of all his Subjects of England the Assises made at Claringdone, and renew'd at Northampton, which Assises were chiefly for Murther, Theft, Robbery, and their receivers: for deceits, and burning of houses, which facts if found by the verdict of twelve men, the accused were to passe the tryall of water Ordeil, whereby if not acquitted, their punishment was losse of a legge, or Banishment; that Age seemed to hold it a greater example of a Malefactor miserably living, than of one dead, for as yet they came not so farre as blood in those cases.

And yet wee finde in the Reigne of this King, that one Gilbert Plumson Knight, accused for a Rape before Ranulph de Glanvile, Chiefe Justice of England (desirous (saith Houeden) by unjust sentence to condemne him) was adjudged to be hanged ona Gybbet; whereunto, when he was brought, and in

The Life and Reigne of Henry the second.

in the hands of the Executioner, the people ranne out crying, that an innocent and just person ought not so to suffer. Baldwin Bishop of Worcester, a religiouse man and fearing God, hearing the clamor of the people, and the injury done to this miserable Creature, came forth and forbade them, from the part of Omnipotent God, and under paine of Excommunication, that they shold not put him to death that day being holy, and the Feast of Saint Mary Magdalene; whereupon the execution was put off till the morrow. That night order were taken, being informed that for the envy which Glanvile bare to this Plumson, hee was desirous to put him to death, in regard he had married the daughter of Roger Gualstan inheritor, whom he would have had Reuer his Shrieke of Yorke to have had; which act leaves a foule staine of injustice upon the memory of this Chiefe justice Glanvile; in the time of whose Office, a tract of the Lawes, and Customes of the Kingdome of England was composed, which now passes under his name.

The charge given for busynesses in these Assises consisted but of very few points besides those felonies, and was especially for taking homage, and ligancie of all the Subjects of England: Demolishing of Castles; the Rights of the King, his Crowne and Exchequer. The multitude of actions which followed in succeeding times, grew out of new transgressions, and the increase of Law and Litigation, which was then but in the Cradle.

William King of Sicile sends and craves to have Joan the Kings Daughter in marriage. Whereupon the King calls a Parliament, and by the universall Councell of the kingdome granted his daughter to the king of Sicile; to whom shee was shortly after sent, and there honourably indowed with many Cities and castles, as may appeare by the Charter of that King.

But the great Match that was provided for Earle John became frustrate by the death of Alice, daughter to the Earle of Mauriana, & he is married to the daughter of William Earle of Gloucester, by whom he was to have that Earldome. This William was sonne to Robert, brother to Claude the Empresse.

The same yeare also hee marries Elionor, another of his Daughters to Alphonso king of Castile, and takes up the controversie betweene him and his Uncle Sanctio King of Navare, about the detention of certaine bordering peeces of eath others kingdome, both the Kings having referred the busynesse to his arbitration.

Likewise the Marriage which should have beeene betweene his sonne Richard and Alice daughter to the French King, (committed heretofore to his custody, and government) was again treated on, and urged hard by the Popes Legate to bee consummated upon paine of interdiction. But yet it was put off for that time, and both Kings notwithstanding concluded a perpetuall league and amity to ayde each other against all men, and to be enemies to each others enemies. Besides, they both vowed an expedition to the holy Land in person, which they lived not to performe.

The King of France upon a dangerous sicknesse of his sonne Philip, vowes a Visitation of the Sepulchre of Thomas the Martyre of Canterbury: And upon licence and safe conduct of the King of England, performs the same with great devotion, and rich presents: First, Offering upon his Tombe a masse cup of Gold, and after, gave and confirmed by his Charter three thousand six hundred Sextaries of Wine for the Monkes, annually to be received at Poissie, at the charge of the King of France; and beside, freed them from all Tolle and Custome, for whatsover they should buy in his kingdome.

After having stayed there three dayes, hee returns towards France, conducted

1175.
Anno
Reg. 21.
All Vacancies
supplied by the
King.

1176.
Anno
Reg. 22

The kingdome
divided into
six parts for
Justice.

1177
Anno
Reg. 23

William King
of Sicile mar-
ches with Joan
the Kings
daughter.
Rog.hotted.

1178
Anno
Reg. 24

A Sextary is
eight English
quarts, and 36
Sextaries is a
Modius of
Wine. Bud.

The Life and Reigne of Henry the second.

1179

Anno

Reg. 25.

1180.

Anno

Reg. 26.

ducted by the King of England to Dover. The Sonne recovers health, but the Father lost his in this journey; for, comming to Saint Denis, he was taken with a palsey, and lived not long after. The weaknesse of his age and disease moved him presently to have his sonne Philip (being but fifteen yeares of age) to be crowned King in his life time, which was done at Reimes, Anno 1179.

Henry Duke of Saxony (who had married Maude daughter to King Henry) was expelled his Dutchy, and banished by the Emperour Frederick the third, for sevencyearcs, for detaining the revenues which the Archbishop of Cologne had out of Saxonie; and refusing to come unto triall at the Imperiall Chamber, according to his Faith and promise made to the Emperour. So that hee was driven to come (for succour with his wife and children) to his father-in-law into England. Where he remained three yearess; and upon the comming of the Archbishop of Cologne to visite the sepulchre of Thomas of Canterbury, meanes was wrought to restore him to his Dutchy: and a motion is made of marriage for Richard the Kings son, with the daughter of the Emperour Frederick (notwithstanding the contract made with Alice daughter to the King of France long before) but the last intention was made frustrate, by the death of the Emperours Daughter.

King Henry sends his sonne John to reside in Ireland, to the end (that the Majestie of a Court, & the number of the attendants which the same would draw thither) might both awe, and civilize that Countrey: But hee being accompanied with many Gallants young as himselfe, who scorning and deriding the Irish (in regard of their rude habits and fashions) wrought an ill effect. For it turned out three of their greatest Kings [Limerick, Conat, & Corke] into open act of rebellion; *Gens enim haec, sicut & natio quavis barbara, quanquam honorem nesciant, honorari tamen supra modum affectant,* saith Giraldus Cambrensis.

Now this faire time of peace which King Henry enjoyed, gave him leisure to seeke out all meanes to supply his Coffers, wherein he was very vigilant: And hearing of the great summes (which Roger Archbishop of Yorke, had given by his Testament to godly uses) sends Commissioners to finde out, and to seise the same to his owne uses, alledging, *That the Archbishop had given Judgement in his life time, that it was against Law, any Ecclesiastical person should dispose any thing by will (unless before he were sick)* and that himselfe had done contrary to his owne decree. The Commissioners having found out, that Hugh Bishop of Durham had received of the Archbishop three hundred Markes of silver to be bestowed in those uses, demand the same for the King. The Bishop replies, *That having received it from the hands of the Archbishop, hee had according to his will distributed the same amongst the leprous, blinde, and lame; in repairing Churches, Bridges and Hospitals:* So that who would have it, must gather it up againe of them. Which answer so displeased the King, as (besides the seizing upon the Castle of Duresme) he wrought this Bishop much vexation.

His meanes certaine (besides the revenue of his Demesne, and the benefit of the Forrests) were not then great in England; which caused him oftentimes in his necessities to bee bold with the Church, and to hold their Benefices vacant; as hee did the Bishoprick of Lincolne eighterie years. Hee made a new Coyne in England, which was round, decryed the old, and put all the Coyners to great ransome for corrupting the old money. And besides, to save his purse (in regard every continuall charge of Horse and Armour was heavy unto him) hee caused every mans Lands and

The King
sends after
monies given
to pious uses
by Testators of
the Clergy.

The vacancy
of Lincoln held
19 years to
the Kings use.

The Life and Reigne of Henry the second.

107

and substance to bee rated for the furnishing thereof. And first began the same in his Dominions beyond the Seas, ordaining, *That whosoever had a hundred pounds Anoygn money in goods, and chattell, should finde a Horse, and twenty pounds Anoygn money, should finde a Corset, Head-pette, Lance and sword, or bow and arrowes, with a strict prohibition, That no man should sell or pawn his Armour, but be bound to leave it when he dyed to his next heire;* And this Order afterward hee established in England; by consent of the State. The King of France and the Earle of Flanders by his example did the like in their Countries.

Great and manifold were the expences of this mighty King, in respect of his entertainments, pensions, and rewards, having so wide an Estate, and so many ever in his worke, both of his owne and others, who must alwayes be fed. And besides, oftentimes hee is faine to bribe the Popes Legates in his businesse with the King of France, to have them favourable for his ends: to send many supplies, by their perwasions, and for his owne reputation, to the holy Warre.

Anno 1182 (saith Walsingham) he receaved the necessity of the Ierosolomitans with two and forty thousand Markes of silver, and five hundred Markes of gold, which was in money seven and forty thousand, three hundred, thirty three pounds, sixe shilling eight pence. And when Pope Lucius distressed by the Romans, desired an ayde out of England, the King sent him a mighty summe of Gold and Silver; in leavynge whereof, the Clergie here dealt very circumspectly; for when the Popes Nuncii came to desire the same, they advised the King, *that according to his will and honour he himselfe should supply the Popes occasion, as well for himselfe, as them: for that it was more tollerable, that their Lord and King should receive from them the retурne of that ayde, than that the Popes Nuncii should, which might be taken for a custome to the detriment of the kingdome.*

Now (about eight yeares) had the peace continued betweene the two Kings, Father and the Sonne; when againe new flames of unnaturall discord began to breake out; the occasion whereof as farre as can be discovered (in the uncertaine passages of that time) we finde to be this.

Anno Reg. 29. After a great Christmas kept at Caen in Normandy, with his Sonnes Henry, Richard, and Geffry, the Duke of Saxony with his wife and children, besides a great Nobility of all parts: The King willed King Henry his sonne, to take the homages of his brother Richard Earle of Poitou, and Geffry Earle of Brittaine. Richard refuses to doe it (but upon perswasion) bothe afterwards content; his brother refuseth to take the same. Whereupon with great indignation Richard departs from his Fathers Court in Poitou; Mans and furnishes his Castles there. The King his brother follows by instigation of the Barons of Poitou and Aquitaine, who were faine from Richard, and adhered to the young King (as men that understood what would become of younger brothers estates in such dominions, where the elder brothers birth-right and power, would carry all) and Geffry Earle of Brittaine takes the King his brothers part, comes with forces to ayde him.

Richard sends for succour to his Father, who with a powerfull Army (rather to constraine them to a peace, than to make warre) came downe into Poitou, where againe his three sons after the debateement of their grievances swore to obey and serve their Father, and to hold perpetuall peace among themselves. And for the farther ratification of this Concord, they meete

Henry and his
sonnes accorde-

1181.

Anno

Reg. 17

1182.

Anno

Reg. 28

Henry 2. rece-
ved Pope Lucius
and the Iero-
solomitans
with great
sums of gold
and silver.

1183

Anno

Reg. 29

Great festivals
often-times
break up with
great discon-
tentments.

Henry and his sonnes accor-
ded.

at *Mirabel*, where *Henry the Sonne* desires, that the Barons of *Poitou* and *Aquitaine*, (whom hee had sworne to defend against his brother *Richard*) might be there at the concluding this peace, and to be pardoned for any former act committed. Which request is granted, and *Geffery Earle of Britaine* sent to bring the Barons thither. But the Barons (holding this peace, either not safe, or not profitable) so worke, as they win the messenger to take their part against the Father, and keepe him with them.

Henry the Sonne notwithstanding continues to mediate still for the Barons, and to get his Father, and Brother *Richard* to receive them into grace. And undertaking to bring in both them, and his brother *Geffery*, is permitted by the Father to goe treate with them at *Limoges*, whither also, by another way, and with small company, it was agreed the Father should come, which hee did; but his approach was met with arrowes so dangerously shot at his person, as the next man to him was slaine, and himselfe with his sonne *Richard* forced to retire from the place. And yet afterwards, desirous out of a fatherly affection to have conference with his sonnes for the quiet ending of this busynesse, (upon their assurance of his safety) he enters into the City: When againe from the Castle is shot a barbed arrow, which had tooke him directly on the brest, had not his horse by the suddaine lifting up his head, received it in the forehead. Which act his sonnes never sought to finde out and punish, but still under-hand held amity with the Barons. At length, notwithstanding King *Henry the Sonne* comes to the Father and protest, that unlesse the Barons would come and yeeld themselves at the Kings feete, hee would utterly renounce them: And after, having againe (upon his Fathers promise of pardon and peace) dealt with them: and finding (as he avowed) their obstinacie, made shew to forsake their party, and returns to his Father with great submission, delivering up unto him his Horse and Armour in assurance thereof.

The incons-
tantie of king
Henry the son.

His Vow.

His resolution.

His request for
the Baron of
Aquitaine.

But many dayes he spent not with him, when againe (either for the intended revenge hee found his Father meant to prosecute against the Barons) whose protection having undertaken, hee held himselfe in his honour, engaged to preserve: or by the working of some mutinous Ministers about him, whose element was not peace: hee againe enters Oath and League with them: But therein finding his power short of his will, and desperate of all successe in his courses, hee suddainly breakes out into an extreame passion before his Father, falls prostrate at the Shrine of Saint *Martial*, and vowes presently to take upon him the crosse, and to give over all worldly busynesse beside.

With which strange and suddaine passion, the Father much moved, besought his sonne with teares to alter that rash resolution, and to tell him truly, whether indignation or religion induced him thereunto. The sonne protests, that it was merely for the remission of his sinnes, committed against his person. And unles his Father would now give him leave (without which he could not goe) he would there instantly kill himselfe in his presence. The Father (after having used all meanes to dissuade him, and finding him still obstinate) said unto him, *Sonne, Gods will be done, and yours, for your furnishing, I will take such order as shall befit your Estate.*

The Son (whilst the Fathers passion had made him tender) wrought thereupon, and besought him, that he would deale mercifully with those of the Castles of *Limoge*, the Barons of *Aquitaine*, and pardon them. To which, the Father in the end (though unwillingly) yeelds, so that they would put in their pledges for securing their fidelity, and the peace; which they seemed content

tent to do. But upon the delivery, and receiving of these pledges, new riotys were committed, by such as could not endure the peace (which is never faithfull, but where men are voluntarily pacified:) and these young Princes againe take part with their confederates, and are made the heads of rebellion, committing rapine, and sacrilege to supply their necessities, and feede their followers. And in the end, the young King having much struggled in vaine, through griefe and vexation of spirit (which caused the distemperature of body) fell into a burning fever with the fluxe, whereof, within few dayes he dyed. A Prince of excellent parts, who was first cast away by his Fathers indulgence, and after by his rigor; not suffering him to be what himselfe had made him; neither got he so much by his Coronation, as to have a name in the Catalogue of the Kings of England.

The sorrow of the Father (although it be sayd to bee great) hindred not his revenge upon the Barons of *Aquitaine*; whom he now most eagerly persecuted, leazed on their Castles, and razed to the ground that of *Limoges*.

Geffery upon his submision, is received into grace, and the yeare after dyed at *Paris*: having (in a conflict) beeene troden under horses feete, and miserably crushed: so that halfe the male issue wherein this King was unfortunate, he saw extint before him, and that by deaths as violent, as were their dispositions. The other two, who survived him, were no lesse miserable in their ends.

Now the young King of *France*, *Phillip the second* (in whose fate it was, to doe more than ever his Father could effect, upon the death of *Henry the Sonne*) requires the delivery of the Country of *Vexlin*, which was given in dowrie with his Sister *Margaret*; but the King of *England*, (not apt to let goe any thing of what he had in possession) was content to pay yearly to the Queen Dowager, 17050. pounds *Anionin*. And the more to hold faire with this young King, whose spirit, he saw, grew great and active, and with whom he was like to have much to doe, did homage unto him, for all he held in *France*, which he never did to the Father, being the first descent of Majesty, he ever made to any secular power. And beside, tooke his part against *Phillip Earle of Flanders*, who opposed against him, and was in those dayes a Prince of mighty power, and had ever stood fast unto King *Levis* the Father. But now *Phillip the Sonne* otherwise led, or affectioned, quarrels with him, and demands the Country of *Vermemois*, as appertayning to the Crowne of *France*: and withall, upon allegation of consanguinity repudiates his wife, Neece to this Earle of *Flanders*, given unto him by his Fathers choyce a little before his death. The Earle followed by *Odo Earle of Burgagne*, the Earles of *Champagne*, *Hainault*, *Namur*, *Saint Pol*, and others, warres upon the King of *France*, and commits great spoyles within his territories, so that hee was faine in the end to compound with him to his disadvantage. After this, the Kings of *England* and *France*, meeete betweene *Gisors* and *Try*; where the King of *England* sweares to deliver *Alice*, unto *Richard his sonne*. And the King of *France* her brother grants her in Dowery, the Countrey of *Vexlin*, which *Margaret his other Sister* had before.

But these tyes held them not long together, for the young King of *France* so wrought with *Richard*, as he drew him from his Fathers obedience, and they lived together in that amity, as one bed and boord is sayd to have served them: both which so enjealoused the old King, as he called home his son, and before his Bishops and Nobility, caused him to sweare upon the Evangelists, to obserue fealty unto him, against all persons whatsoever, which ha-

His Death.

Earle Geffery,
submission
and death.

1184.

Anno
Reg. 30.

Henry the se-
cond doth ho-
mage to Phi-
llip, king of
France.

The Earle of
Flanders com-
pels the King
of France, to
compound.

1185.

Anno
Reg. 31.

The Kings of
England and
France accord-
ed, and pre-
pare for the
Holy Warre.

ving done, and ready to passe over into *England*, he is informed of the great preparation made by the King of *France*, who gave out, that he would spoyle and ransacke both *Normandy*, and the rest of the King of *Englands* territories in *France*; unless he would presently deliver up his sister *Alice* unto *Richard*, or render *Gisors*, and the Country of *Vexlin* into his hands. Whereupon the King returnes backe, and comes againe to a parle betweene *Gisors* and *Try*. Where the Archbishop of *Try* (sent from the Earle to call up ayde for the holy Warre) did with that power of perswasion so urge his message, as it let out all the humour of private rancor and contention, betweene these two great Kings, altered their whole Counsells, their pretensions, their designes: turned them wholly to undertake in person this labourious action, and resolve to leave their Kingdomes, their pleasures, and all the things of glory they had at home, to prosecute the same, through all the distempers of climes, and difficulties of passages, whereunto that voyage was obnoxious: so that now, no other thing was thought or talked on, but onely preparations, and furnishings for this busynesse.

Aud to distinguish their people, and followers (who all strove which should be most forward) it was ordered that they who followed the King of *England*, should weare a white Crosse: *France* a red, and *Flaunders* a greene. And for a further ihgagement in the busynesse, the King of *England* writes to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, a most comfortable and pious Letter: in the end whereof he hath these wrds, *Amongst other Princes, I and my sonne, rejecting the glory of this World, and despising all the pleasures therof, in proper person, will, God willing, visit you shortly.*

Then to raise mony to defray this great enterprize, it was ordayned by the two Kings, their Archbishops, Bishops, Earles, and other in *France*, that all whosoever, as well Clerke as Lay (saving such as went the Voyage) should pay the tenth of all their revenues of that yeare, and the tenth of all their Mooveables and Chattles; as well in gold as silver. And many excellent orders were made for restraint of licentiousnesse both in apparel, and manners, as was fitting for the undertakers of so civill and devout an action.

The King of *England* having layd this imposition upon all his Dominions in *France*, comes over, calls a Councell of his Bishops, Abbots, Earles, Barrons, both of the Clergy, and Laiety at *Gayngton*, and by their consents imposes the samme taxation upon his Subjects of *England*: *Sub Eleemosine titulo vitium rapacitatis includens*, saith *Walsingham*, and presently sends forth his Officers into every Shiere, to Collect the same according as it was done in *France*. But of every City in *England*, he caused a choyce to be made of the richest men: as in *London* of two hundred, in *Yorke* a hundred, and so according to the proportion of the rest; and caused all these, at a certainte time and place to appeare before him; of whome hee tooke the tenth of all their Mooveables, by the estimation of credible men which knew their estates: such as refused he imprisoned till they had payd it, of which example and exactiōn, wee must onely hold Picty guilty: otherwise those times had not yeelded it.

The King sends likewise *Hugh Bishop of Durceme*, with other Commissioners, to *William King of Scots* to collect the tenths in his Country, which he would not permit, but offered to give the King of *England* five thousand Markes of silver for those tenths, and the Castle which he claymed, but the King of *England* refused the same.

Whilst these preparations were in hand, and the mony collecting, a quarrell arises betweene *Richard Earle of Poitou*, and *Raymond Earle of Tholouse*, upon

1186.
Anno
Reg. 33.

Provision by
King Henry in
England.

1187.
Anno
Reg. 33.

upon this occasion the Earle of *Tholouse* by the perswasion of one *Peter Stil-*
lar, had taken certaine Merchants of *Aquitaine*, and used them hardly. The Earle of *Poitou* surprizes this *Peter*, imprisons him, and would not suffer the Earle of *Tholouse* to redeeme him, upon any condition. Whereupon the Earle imprisons two Gentlemen, servants of the King of *England*, *Robert* and *Ralph Poer*, travelling through his Country (as Pilgrims) from Saint *Ianies de Compostella*; which Earle *Richard* tooke so ill, as he enteris into the Earles Country with an Army (prepared for a better act) wasts it with fire & sword, besieges and takes his Castles about *Tholouse*. The King of *France* (upon the lamentable complaint of the *Tholousans*) sends to the King of *England* to understand, whether his sonne *Richard* did these things by his will and Counsell. The King of *England* answers, *That he neither willed nor counselleth him thereunto, and that his sonne sent him word (by the Archbishop of Dublin) that he did nothing, but by the consent of the King of France*. Who (not satisfied with this answer) enters presently into *Bery* with his Army, seizes upon the Country; takes in divers Castles of the King of *England*, who makes himselfe ready to recover the same. And thus that great intended enterprise, undertaken with such fervour, became dasht and overthrowne, at the very time they appointed to have set forward.

All the meanes the Pope could use by his Legats, nor all the perswasions of other Princes might prevale to reconcile these two enraged Kings, though divers interviewes were procured, divers overtures propounded, yet none tooke effect; they ever depart more incensed than they met: in so much as at length, the King of *France*, in a rage, cut downe the great Elme (betwene *Gisors* and *Try*) under which, the Kings of *France*, and Dukes of *Normandy* were ever used to parle, and dwore, *There should be no more meetings in that place*. But yet after this they were brought to another parle elsewhere, and therein the Popes Legat threatened to interdict the King of *France*, unlesse he made peace with the King of *England*. The King of *France* told him, that he feared not his sentence, being grounded upon no equity, and that it appertained not to the Church of *Rome*, by sentence, or otherwise, to chastise the Kingdome, or King of *France*, undertaking to revenge the demerits of the rebellious, that dishonoured his Crowne; and flatly told the Cardinall, *That he smellet of the Sterlings of England*.

This interview, wrought a worse effect than all the rest: for here the King of *England* (absolutely) refuseth to render *Alice* to his sonne *Richard*, but offered to the King of *France*, to give her to his sonne *John*, with larger conditions, than should be granted with the other: which so much assinated the heart of his sonne *Richard*, as he becomes wholly Liege, thian to the King of *France*, did homage unto him for *Aquitaine*, and they both joyned their forces against the Father.

And here now comes this mighty King of *England* (the greatest of all the Christian World in his time, or that the kingdome ever saw, to fall quite a sunder; forsaken both of his subjects, and himselfe, letting downe his heart, to yeld to any conditions whatsoever: he who never saw feare (but in the backe of his enemies), leaves now the defence of *Mars*, and flyes away with seaven hundred men, having promised the City, never to give it over, in regard his father was there buried, and himselfe borne) and afterward comes to this last Parle with the King of *France*, betweene *Trywain* and *Wras*: where at their first meeting (no man suspecting the wrath) a thunder-bolt, with so terrible a cracke lighted just betweene them, as it parted their conference in a confused manner for that time.

1187.
Anno
Reg. 33.

A meane
quarrel dathes
and divers
the great pre-
paration for
the holy War,
and layes it
upon the selfe
kingdomes.

1188.
Anno
Reg. 34.

The King of
France cuts
downe the
most eminent
Elme of
Princely
Parley.

Earle *Richard*
(with the
King of
France) com-
bines against
his Father
King *Henry*.

The Life and Reigne of Henry the second.

1180.

Anno

Reg. 35

His Death.

1189.

Anno

Reg. 35

His issue.

vide to. p. 66.

Within a while after, they came together againe, when sudainly began as fearefull a thunder as the former, which so awazd the King of England (as he had falle off from his Horse) had he not beeene supported by those about him. And in this sort, beganne the Proem of that Treaty, wherein, the King of England yeelds to whatsoeuer conditions, the King of France required, did him homage againe for all his dominions on that side (both Kings shaying at the beginning of this Warre, renounced their mutuall obligation in that kinde) tenders up *Alice* for whom he had beeene so much laden with scandall and turmoyle, upon condition, she should be given in marriage to his sonne *Richard* at his returne from the holy Warre; and in the meane time to remaine in the custody of any one of five whom *Richard* should nominate: grants that fealty be gien unto him of all his Dominions, and pardons all his partakers. Besides, covenants to pay the King of France 20000. markes of silver for dammage done during these late Warres. And that if he should not per-forme these Articles, his Barons should swear to renounce him, and betake them to the part of the King of France, and Earle *Richard*. And for more caution, hee yeelds to deliver up the Cities of Mans and Tureyne, with divers Castles into their hands, &c.

And here was an end of this businesse; and within three dayes after, of this Kings life: whose heart, not made of that temper to bow, burst with the weight of a declining Fortune. Some few hours before he dyed, he saw a list of their names who conspired with the King of France, and Earle *Richard* against him; and finding therein his sonne *John* to be the first, falls into a grievous passion, both cursing his sons, and the day wherin himselfe was borne: and in that distemperature departs the World, which so often himselfe had distempered; having reigned thirty five yeares, seaven moneths, and five dayes.

His sonne *Richard* approaching the Corpse, as it was carrying to be interred (adorned according to the usual maner of Kings, with all royll Otnaments open faced) the blood gushed out of the nostrills of the Dead (a signe usually noted, of guiltiness) as if Nature yet after Death, retayned some intelligence in the veines, to give notice of wrong, and checke the malice of an uanaturall Offender: at which sight, *Richard* surprized with horrour, is said to have burst out into extreame lamentations.

He had issue by his Wife *Eliander*, foure sonnes, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Geffery*, and *John*; besides two other, *William* the eldest, and *Philip* the youngest but one, dyed young. Also three Daughters; *Maud* married to *Henry Duke of Saxony*: *Eliander* the Wife of *Alfonso* the eighth of that name, King of *Castile*: *Ioan* given in marriage unto *William King of Sicile*. He had also two naturall sonnes, by *Rosamond* daughter of *Walter Lord Clifford*, *William*, surnamed *Longespee*, in English *Long-sword*, and *Geffery Arch-Bishop of Yorke*, who after five yeares banishment in his brother King *Johns* time dyed. Anno 1213.

The first sonne *William* surnamed *Longespee*, Earle of *Salisbury* (in right of *Ela* his Wife: daughter and heire of *William Earle* of that Country, sonne of *Earle Patricke*) had issue *William Earle of Salisbury*, and *Stephen Earle of Ulster*: *Ela Countesse of Warriske*: *Ida Lady Beauchamp* of *Bedsford*, and *Isabell Lady Vesey*. His Sonne, Earle *William* the second, had Earle *William* the third, Father of *Margaret*, Wife of *Henry Lacy Earle of Lincoln*.

It is sayd, King *Henry* had also a third naturall sonne called *Morgan* (by the Wife of one *Rodolph Blotth* or *Blewet* a Knight;) he lived to be *Provost of Beverley*, and to be elected to the Bishopricke of *Durcisme*; and comming to

Rome

The Life and Reigne of Richard the first.

113

Rome for a dispensation (because his Bastardy made him otherwise unaceapeable) the Pope willed him to professe him selfe *Blewets* lawfull sonne; and notwithstanding the Kings Naturall, promising to Consecrate him on that condition; but he (using the advice of one *William Lane* his Clerke) told the Pope, that for no worldly promotion he would renounce his Father, or deny himselfe to be of *Blood Royall*.

The end of the Life and Reigne of Henry the second.

The Life and Reigne of Richard the first.

RICHARD surnamed *Cœur de Lyon* (borne at *Oxford*) succeeding his Father, first seizes upon his Treasure in *France*, being in the hands of *Stephen Thurnham Seneschall of Normandy*, whom he imprisons with fetters, and manacles to extort the uttermost thereof. And then repaires to *Roan*, where, by *Walter the Archbisshop* he is girt with the sword of the *Dutchy of Normandy*, takes fealty both of the *Clergy* and *Lay*, and then goes to *Pacle* and compose this businesse with the King of *France*, which he did by mony; and obtayned restitution of all such peaces as had beeene gotten from his Father in the time of the late *Watres*. Besides, for his better strength, hee gives in marriage *Maud* his Neece, daughter of the *Duke of Saxony*, to *Geffery sonne* to the Earle of *Perchland* b. 1189.

During this stay and settling of his affayres in *France*, Queen *Eliander* his Mother, freed from her imprisonment (which shee had endured twelve yeares) hath power to dispose of the busynesses of *England*, which especially shee employed in preparing the affections of the people by pardons, and remission of oppresions, and then meetes her sonne at *Winchester*. Where besides his Fathers Treasure which was 90000. pounds in gold and silver; besides Plate, Jewels and pretious stones) there fell unto him by the death of *Geffery Kidle* Bishop of *Ely* dying intestate, 3060. Marks of silver, and 205. gold, which came well to defray the charge of his Coronation, celebrated the third day of *September*, 1189. at *Westminster*, and imbruied with the miserable slaughter of the Iewes inhabiting in, and about the *Citty of London*, who coming to offer their presents, as an afflicted people, in a strange Country, to a new King, in hope to get his favour, were set upon by the multitude, and many lost both their lives and substance. The example of *London* wrought the like mischiefe upon the Iewes in the Townes of *Norwich*, *Saint Edmundsbury*, *Lincolne*, *Stamford* and *Linne*.

All this great Treasure left to this King, was not thought sufficient for this intended action of the holy Warre (which was still on foote) but that all other wayes were devised to raise more mony, and the King sells much Land of the Crowne, both to the *Clergy* and other. *Godfrey de Lucie* Bishop of *Winchester* bought two Mannors, *Weregrave* and *Mencs*. The Abbot of *Saint Edmundsbury*, the Mannor of *Mildhall* for one thousand Markes of silver. The Bishop of *Duresme* the Mannor of *Sadborough* with the dignity *Palatinate* of his whole Province, which occasioned the King jestingly to say, what a cunning worke-man he was that could make of an old Bishop a new Earle. Besides he grants to *William King of Scots*, the Castles of *Barwick*, and *Roxburgh* for 10000. Marks, and releaseth him of those covenants madd & confirmed by his Charter unto King *Henry* the second, as extorted frō him being then his Prisoner, reserving to himselfe onely such rights, as had bin & were to be performed, by his brother *Malcolm* to his ancestors the Kings of *England*.

He began his
reigne the 6.
of July, aged
35.

1189.

Anno.

Reg. I.

The slaughter
of the Iewes
at the corona-
tion.

L 3

More.

The Kings
departure out
of England to-
ward the Ho-
ly Warre.

Moreover pretending to have lost his Signet, made a new, and Proclamation that Whosover would safely enjoy, what under the former Signet was granted, should come to have it confirmed by the new, whereby he rayled great sums of mony to the grieve of his subjects. Then procures, he a power from the Pope, that wholsver himselfe pleased to dismisse fro the journey, and leave at home, should be free from taking the Crosse; and this likewise gott him great Treasure, which was leavyed with much expedition by reason the King of France, in November, after the Coronation, sent the Earle of Perch, with other Commissioners to signifie to King Richard, how in a generall Assembly at Paris, he had solemnly sworne upon the Evangelists to be ready at Tours, with all the Princes and people of his Kingdome, who had undertaken the Crosse, presently upon Easter next following, thence to set forward for the holy Land. And for the assurance, and testimony thereof, he sends the Charter of this Deede unto the King of England, requiring him and his Nobility, under their hands to assure him in like sort, to be ready at the same time, and place, which was in like manner concluded at a generall Councell held at London. And in December(having onely stayed but four moneths in England after his Coronation) this King departs into Normandy, keepes his Christmas at Rouen, and presently after hath a Parle with the King of France at Reimes, where by Oath and writing under their hands and seale, with the faith given by all their Nobility on both sides, is confirmed a most strict Peace and Vnion betwixt both Kings, for the preservation of each other and their estates, with the others concluded for their journey. Which done, the King of England sends for Queene Elinor his mother, his brother John, and the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Winchester, Duresme, Norwich, Bath, Salisbury, Eley, Chester, and others, which came unto him to Rouen: where he commits the especiall charge of this Kingdome to William Longshamp Bishop of Eley, under the Title of Chiefe Justice of England, and gives him one of his Seales, and the Custody of the Tower of London; and confers upon Hugh Bishop of Duresme the Iusticeship of the North, from Humber to Scotland, with the keeping of Windsor Castle, which after gave occasion of dissencion, to these two ambitious Prelates impatient of each others greatness. Hugh Bardolph, William Marshall, Geffery Fitz Peter, and William Brewer, are joyned in commission with the Bishop of Eley.

And lest his brother John (whose spirit he well understood) might in England worke upon the advantage of his absence, he first caused him to take an Oath not to come within this Kingdome for the space of three years next following. Which after, upon better consideration, he released, leaving him to his liberty and naturall respect. But hereby having given him first a wound by his distrust, his after regard could never heale it up againe, nor all the Honours and State bestowed on him, keepe him within the limits of obedience.

For, this suspition of his Faith, shewed him rather the way to breake, than retaine it; whensoeuer occasion were offered: And the greater meanes hee had bestowed on him to make him content, did but arme him with greater power for his designes. For this Earle John had conferred upon him in England, the Earledomes of Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset, Nottingham, Darby, Lancaster; and by the Marriage with Isabell, Daugther to the Earle of Gloucester, had likewise that Earledome; moreover the Castles of Marlborow and Lutgarfall, the Honour of Wallingford, Tichill, and Eye; to the valem of foure thousand Markes per annum, besides the great commandns he held thereby: which mighty Estate was not a meanes to satifie, but increase his desires, and make him more dangerous at home.

Then

Then the more to strengthen the reputation of this Vice-roy the Bisshop of Eley, the King gets the Pope to make him his Legat of all England and Scotland, and to the end his Government might not be disturbed through the emulation of another, he confisces the elect Arch-Bishop of Yarke (his baste brother, whose turbuleney hee doubted) to remaine in Normandy till his returnes, and takes his oath to performe the same.

Having thus ordered his affaires he sends backe into England this great Bishop, furnished with as great, and absolute a power, as he could give him to provide necessaries for his intended journey. Wherein to please the King, he offended the people, and committed great exactions, *Clerum & populum opprimebat, confundens sacerdos et laicos* (saith Moreden.) He took of every City in England two Palfryes, and two other Horses of service, and of every Abbay one of each, likewise of every Manner of the Kings, one of each, for this service. And to shew what he would proove, he tooke the Castle of Windesfor from the Bisshop of Duresme, and confined him within his Towne of Howden, questions his Authority, and workes him much vexation, and for all his meanes made to the King, overtopt him.

Exactions by
the Vice-roy.

The King takes order for a Navy to convey people and provision to the holy Land, and commits the charge thereof to the Arch-Bishop of Auxeres, and the Bisshop of Bayon, Robert de Sabuk, Richard Cantilope; which done, both Kings, at the latter end of June, with their powers together, take their journey to Lyons; where (their numbers growing so great, as breed many incomberments, and distempers betwixne the Nations) they part companies; the King of France takes the way of Genoa by Land, the King of England, of Mercedies, where, after he had stayed eight dayes, expecting in vaine the coming about of his Navy withheld by tempest, he was forced to hir twenty Gallies, & ten other great vessells, to transport him into the Isle of Sicilia. The King of France takes shipping at Genova, and by tempest was driven to land, in the same Isle, and arryed there before the King of England: where, those mighty companies of both these powerfull Kings, fell oule on eache other, and themselves taking part with their people enters in quarrell and rancor, so that being of equal power and stomacke, and alike emulous of honour and revenge, they began to shew what successe their enterprise was likely to yeeld. The King of France repaying his wracked Navy, and the King of Englands long staying for his, forced them bothe to Winter in Sicilia, to the great pestre and disturbance of that people, themselves and theirs.

The Kings
quarrell in
the Isle of Sicilia.

William late King of Sicile who had married Joan, sister to the King of England, was dead (which made the entartaynement of the English there, the worse) and Tancredi base sonne of Roger, grand-father to William, was invested in the Kingdome, contrary to the will of the late King (dying without Issue,) and the fidelity of the people sworne to Constantia the lawfull daughter of the say Roger, married to Henry King of Almaine, sonne to the Emperour Frederick Barbarossa; by which occasion, Tancredi was forced to use all meanes to hold what he had gotten by strong hand, and had much to doe against the Emperour and his sonne Henry. The King of England after great contention with him, to make the conditions of his sisters Dowry the better, enters into league with Tancredi, against all mento preserve his estate, and gets in conclusion 20000. Ounces of Gold for his Sisters Dowry, & 3000. more, upon a match to be made betwixne Arthur Earle of Britaine, sonne to Geffery his neare brother (who was to succeede him in the Crown of England, if himselfe dyed without Issue) and the daughter of Tancredi.

At the opening of the Spring (both Kings having beeene reconciled, and

newly
reconciled.

Berenguela
fiancée to King
Richard.

new Articles of peace and concord signed and sworne) the King of France sets first forward to the holy Land; but the King of England stayes in Sicile, untill Whitson tide after. And during his abode (which might therefore be the longer) his Mother Queen Elioner (who in her youth had well knowne the travaile of the East) came unto him, bringing with her Berenguela, Daughter to the King of Navarre, who was there fiaueed unto him. Which done, Queen Elioner departs home by the way of Rome, and the young Lady with the Queen Dowager of Sicile, take their journey with the King; who sets forth with an hundred and thirty ships, and fifty Gallies, and was by tempest driven to the Isle of Cyprus; where, being denied landing, hee assayles the Isle on all sides, subdues it, places his Garrisons therein, and commits the custody of the same to Richard de Cenville, and Robert de Turnham, taking halfe the goods of the Inhabitants from them; in Lieu whereof he confirmed the use of their owne Lawes. And here our Histories say, he married the Lady Berenguela, and caused her to be Crowned Queen.

These mischieves suffered these two famous Isles of Christendome, in the passage of those mighty Princes against Pagans, who peradventure would have as well used them for their goods, and treasure as they did; But Armies and power know no inferiour friends, it was their Fate so to lye in the way of great attempters, who, though in the cause of Piety, would not sticke to doe any injustice.

From hence passesthis famous King to the holy Land, with the spoyles and treasure of three noble rich Islands, England, Sicile, and Cyprus (besides what Normandy and Guien could furnish him withall) and there consumes that huge collected masse, even as violently as it was gotten, though to the exceeding great renoune of him, and the Nation. Here for the better understanding this busynesse, it is not amisse to deliver in what sort stood the Estate of those Affayres in Asia, which so much troubled these mighty Princes, and drew them from the utmost bounds of Europe, thus to adventure themselves, and consume their Estates.

The State of
Palestina.

It was now foure score and eight yeares sittice Godfrey of Bologne, Prince of Lorraine, with his company recovered the City of Ierusalem, with the Country of Palestina, and a great part of Syria, out of the hands of the Saracins, obtayned the Kingdome thereof, that was Crowned with a Crowne of Thornes in example of our Saviour. Reigned one yea, dyed, and left to succeede him his brother Baldwin, who governed eighteene yeares, and left the Crowne to another of that name, Baldwin de Burgo, who reigned thirteene yeares, and left a daughter, and his Kingdome in dissencion. Fulke Earle of Aniou marries this Daughter, and enjoyes this Kingdome eleven yeares, and left two young sonnes, Baldwin, and Almerique: Baldwin reigned foure and twenty yeares, and after him his brother Almerique twelve, and leaves Baldwin his sonne to succeede him; who being sicke, and desparying of issue, made Baldwin his Nephew, sonne to the Marquesse of Monferrato and Sibilla his sister, his successour, and commits the charge of him, with the administration of the Kingdome, to Raymond Earle of Tripoly, whom Guy de Lusignan, who had married Sibilla (the Widdow of Monferrato) put from that charge, and usurped the Government, and at length the Kingdome, not without suspition of poysoning the young King. Raymond making Warre upon him, Lusignan drawes in Sultan Saladin of Egypt to his ayde, who glad of that occasion, to augment his owne State destroyed them both, with their Kingdome, and won the City of Ptolomeide, Asso, Berytho, Ascalon, and after one moneths siege, the City of Ierusalem, foure score and eight yeares after it had bin conquered by Godfrey.

Now

Now to recover this confounded State, come these two Great King from a farre and a different clyme, with an Army composed of severall Nations, and severall humours, English, French, Italians and Germanes; against a mighty Prince of an united power, within his owne ayre, neare at home, bred and made by the sword, inured to victories, acquainted with the fights, and forces of the Christians, and possessed almost of all the best peeces of that Country.

And here they sit downe before the City of Acon, defended by the power of Saladin, which had bee ne before besieged by the Christians the space of three yeares; and had cost the lives of many worthy Princes, and great Personages, whose names are delivered by our Writers, amongst whom I will remember these few of especiall note: Conradus Duke of Saxe, sonne of Frederick the Emperour (which Frederick was also drowned comming thither) with the Earles of Perch, Puntif, and old Theobald Earle of Blois, that famous Stickler betwee the Kings of England and France; Stephen Earle of Sancerre; the Earle of Vandomme, Bertoldus a Duke of Germanie, Roger and Ioselin Earles of Apulia, &c. And lastly, Phillip Earle of Flanders; and of our Nation, Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury; Robert Earle of Leicesters; Ralph de Glanvile chife Justice of England, Richard de Clare, Walter de Kime, &c. And notwithstanding all the forces of these two Kings, they held out four moneths after, and then rendred themselves upon composition.

At their entring into the City, the Ensignes of Leopold Duke of Austria, being planted on the Walles, were with great scorne taken downe by the commandement of King Richard, and those of the two Kings erected; which bred great rancor, and was afterward the occasion of much mischiefe to the King of England. Besides, during this siege, divers stings were ministred, or taken of displeasure, and malice betwene the two Kings, apt to be set on fire, by the least touches of concerte.

The King of France full of disdaine, for the rejection of his Sister, and the marriage of the King of England with Berenguela; besides competition of honour (which their equality was subject unto) made any jot of the least disproportion thereof, a wound without cure: And daily occasions in so great hearts fell out to worke the same. The Articles of equal dividing their gaines in this voyage, concluded betwene them, is questioned. The King of France claimes halfe the Isle of Cyprus, halfe the Treasure, and goods of the Earle of Flanders, wherof the King of France had seized, and therin, neyther is satisfied. Then are there two pretenders to the Crowne of Ierusalem, Guy of Lusignan, and Conrade, Marquis of Monferrato: Guy pleades the possession thereof, which he he had by his wife Sibilla: the King of England takes part with Guy the King of France, with Conrade, and with these differences are they kept in imbroylements, and continually distempred, in so much, as by their owne heates and the contagion o' the Country, they fell into a most dangerous sicknesse, that cost them both their haire, being more than they got by the voyage.

But being recovered, the King of France had no longer will to stay there, where hee saw no more likely hood of honour or profit; and at home, hee knew was better good to be done with lesse danger, and the rather by the death of the Earle of Flanders, whose state lay to necie, as it tooke up part of his; whereof he had a purpose to abridge his successors, and therfore craves leave of the King of England (for without leade of each other it was covenanted, neither of them shoulde depart) to returne home: which King Richard, was hardly woot to grant, in respect he knew the danger, it might worke him

The Kings of
England and
France besiege
Acon.

The Kings of
England and
France danger-
ously sick.

The King of France departs from the holy Warre.

him in his absence, to let such an offendred Lyon loose.

But in the end through the earnest sollicitation of the King of France, and the assurance (confirmed by Oath) not to doe any thing offensive to his Dominions in France, during his absence, he yeelds thereunto. And so departs this great Prince, leaving the Earle of Borgogne Lieutenant of his forces: And King Richard betakes him to the siege of Ascalon: writes invective letters against the King of France for leaving him: Who likewise detames King Richard amongst his neighbours at home. And it may be doubted whether the perjury of these two Kings did not adde more to the insinne, than the action they undertooke for the remission thereof could take away, for that *A good worke impiously managed, merits no more than an ill.*

Ten moneths the King of England stayes behind in these parts, consuming both his men and treasure without any great successe, though with much noble valour and exceeding courage; finding ever great perversesse in the Earle of Borgogne, who according to his maisters instructions shewed no great desire to advance the action, where another must carry the honour; but willing alwayes to retorne home (pretending his want) drew backe when any busynesse of importance was to be done, and at length falls sicke, and dyes at Acon.

Conrade, who was so much favoured by the King of France, in his title for that Kingdome, was murthered by two Assassins, whereof the King of England was (but very wrongfully) taxed; and the Earle of Champaigne, marrying his Widdow, sister to Queene Sibilla, was by King Richard preferred to the Crowne of Ierusalem, and Guy of Lusignan (the other pretender) made King of Cyprus, & so both contented. During this busynesse abroad in the East, the State of England suffered much at home under the government of Longshamp, who usurping the whole authority to himselfe, without communicating any thing eyther with the Nobility, or the rest of the Commissioners, joyned with him, did what he listed, and with that insolency carried himselfe, as he incurred the hatred of the whole Kingdome, both Clergy and Lay. His traine was sayd to be so great, and the pompe of attendants such, as where he lay in any religious house but one night, thre yeares revenues would scarce suffice to recover the charge. Besides, being a stranger himselfe, and using onely French men about him, made his courses the more intollerable to the English; in so much as at length the whole Clergy, and Nobility oppose against his proceedings, and the Earle John taking advantage upon these discontentments (to make himselfe more popular, and prepare the way to his intended usurpation) joynes with the state against this Bishop, being the man that had ever crossed his courses, having an especiall eye unto him, as the most dangerous person of the kingdome, both in respect of the kings charge, and his owne safety.

And now there fell out a fit occasion to ruine the Chancellor by this meanes. Goffry the Elect Arch-Bishop of Yorke, base sonne to Henry the second, to whose preferment in England, King Richard was averse (and therefore had confin'd him within Normandy, during his absence), had by great labour to Pope Celestino obtained a power to be invested in the See: whose comming into England being advertised to the Chancellor Longshamp, he was at his landing at Dover apprehended, and drawne by force out of the Church which he had recovered, and from the Altar in his Pontificall Habit trayled into the Castle in most vyle manner. Of which violence the Earle John, and the Bishop taking notice, they command the Chancellor not onely to release him, but also to answer the matter, before the assembly

Conrade murthered.

Longshamps trayne and pompe.

1191.

Anno

Reg. 3.

Goffry the Elect of Yorke taken and imprisoned by the Chancellor.

assembly of the Bishops, and Nobility at Pauls: where, they article, and urge against him many haynous actions committed, contrary to the Commission given him, and the Weale of the King and Kingdome.

The Archbishop of Rouen, and William Marshall Earle of Strigule, shewed openly the Kings Letters Pattents, dated at Alesena in Sicile, whereby they were made Commissioners with him in the Government of the Kingdome; which notwithstanding, he would never suffer them to deale in any busynesse of the same; but by his owne violent, and head-long will, doe all himselfe, wherefore in the end he was by the Assembly deposed from his Office; and the Archbishop of Rouen (who would doe nothing without the Councell of the State) instituted therein. The Tower of London, and the Castle of Windsor are taken from him, and delivered to the Arch-bishop. And so this great Officer presuming too much in his place (having envy so neare him, and a maister so farre off) was throwne downe from his State, faine to resigne his Legantine Crosse at Canterbury, and to take up that for the holy Warre: and privily seeking to escape over Sea, was, in the habite of a woman, with a web of Linnen cloth under his arme, taken upon the shore at Dover, and most opprobriously made a spectacle to the people, and conducted with all derision to the Castle; whence after eight dayes he was by the Earle John released, and suffered to goe on his journey; wherein, being the messenger of his owne misusage, he had the advantagé of his adversaries, and prevailed against them with the Pope, who took it very tenderly, the power Legantine should be so vilified.

The Earle John, the Archbishop of Rouen, and the other Justices of the King, grant unto the City of London their Common (or liberties) and the Citizens swore fealty to King Richard and his heire; and that if he dyed without issue, they would receive the Earle John for their Lord and King, and likewise swore fealty unto him against all men, reserving their faith to King Richard.

In this forwardnesse was the Earle John for his brothers Crowne, whilst he is beleaguring Ascalon, and grappling with Saladin Sultan in the East. But having notice of this proceeding in England, and how the King of France had taken in Gisors, and the Country of Vexlin, contrary to his Oath, he takes the opportunity of an offer made by Saladin of a Truce for three yeares, upon condition that he should restore Ascalon to the same State wherein hee found it before the siege: which he did by the Counsell of the Templars, and the whole Army. And presently leaving Wife, Sister, and people to come after him (as they could provide) takes a shippe with some few followers, and returns from his action, with as great precipitation as he undertooke it: having consumed therein all that mighty Treasure left him by his Father, and all that otherwise he could teare from his subjects, and divers others, by violent extortiōn, or cunning practises.

Pardon us Antiquity, if we mis-censure your actions, which are ever (as those of men) according to the vogue, and sway of times, and have onely their upholding by the opinion of the present: We deal with you but as posterity will with us (which ever thinkes it selfe the wiser) that will judge likewise of our errors according to the cast of their imaginations. But for a King of England to returne in this fashion, cannot be but a note of much inconsideration, and had as pitifull an event, For having taken up by the way three Gallies to conduct him to Ragusa for three hundred Markes of silver, (disguised under the names of Pilgrims) he was by his lavish expences, discovered to be the King of England; which note once taken, it was impossible for him to lay any covering thereon, that could ever hide him more: though upon warning thereof, he presently

Longshawh
the Chancellor
deposed
from his
Office.

He flies and is
taken.

King Richards
departure
from Pale.
1191.

His disfavour.

The Life and Reigne of Richard the first.

King Richard
taken pris-
on.

presently left all his Company, and with one man onely takes horse, and through all the dangers of a wilde Desert, and rockey Country, travayling day and night, pasles into Austrich, where Fame, that was a speedier Post than himselfe, was before him. And comming to a Village neare to Vienna, and reposing himselfe in a poore hostery, was taken asleepe, by meanes of his companion going forth to provide necessaries for him, who as hee was changing mony was knowne, taken, and brought before the Duke of Austrich, and upon examination confessed where his maister was ; of which prize the Duke was most joyfull, in respect of his revenge for the disgrace he did him at the entring of Acon, and presently sends him to the Emperour Henry the sixt, whom likewise he had offended for ayding Tancredi the base sonne of Roger, in the usurpation of the Crowne of Sicilia, against Constanitia the lawfull daughter of the same Roger whom this Emperour had married.

Newes hereof is presently sent by the Emperour to the King of France, that he might likewise rejoice at this Fortune, and he tells him, *That now the Enemy of his Empire, and the disturber of the Kingdome of France, was fast in hold, and all the manner how.* The State of England is likewise soone certified of this heavy disaster, and great meanes is made to redeeme their King out of Captivity, who is sayd to have borne his Fortune with that magnanimity, and cleared himselfe of the scandalls layd on him for the death of Conrade the Emperours kinsman, and other his actions in the East, in such sort, as he won the affection of the Emperour, so that he professed a great desire to restore him, and reconcile him to the King of France. But yet we finde, *That King Richard deposed himselfe of the Kingdome of England, and delivered the same to the Emperour as his supreme Lord, and invested him therein by the delivering up his hat,* which the Emperour returned unto him in the presence of the Nobility of Germany and England, to hold this Kingdome from him for fifty thousand pounds sterlinc to be payd as an annuall tribute.

King Richard
deposed him-
selfe of the
Kingdome of
England.

Earle John
deth homage
to the King of
France for
Normandy.

And yet notwithstanding all this, the King of France, combining with the Earle John, prevailed so much with the Emperour, as he held him Prisoner a whole yeaire, and six weekes, through the offer of mighty summes they made unto him. For he, and the Earle John fully accounted that hee should have beeene held a perpetuall prisoner, and, upon that reckoning the Earle John did homage to the King of France for the Dutchy of Normandy, and all the rest of those transmarine Territories, and for England as it is sayd ; and besides resignes nnto him Gisors, with the Country of Vexlin, sweares to marry his sister Alice, and to be divorced from his other Wife, the Daughter of the Earle of Gloucester. The King of France covenants to give him with his sister, that part of Flanders which he had taken from that Earledome, and sweares to ayde him in the attayning both of England and whatsoever else the Lands of his brother.

Then goes the Earle John over into England, carrying many strangers with him, and presently the Castles of Wallingford and Windsor, are rendered unto him : then comes he to London and requires of the Archbishop of Rouen, and other the Commissioners, the Kingdome of England, and that fealty be made unto him, affirming his brother was dead ; but they not giving credit unto him, and denying his desire ; with rage and strong hand, he fortifies his Castles, and in hostile manner invades the Lands of his brother, finding many partakers to joyn with him.

The Queene mother, the Justices of England, and all the faithfull servants of the King, guard and defend the ports, against the invasion of the French
and

The Life and Reigne of Richard the first.

and Flemings, who in great numbers seeke to ayde the Earle 1600 ; and alſo they labour the redemption of the King, whose ransome the Emperour rates at one hundred thousand Markes, with the finding of fifty Gallies ready furnished, and two hundred souldiers to attend his service in the holy Warre for one yere.

In Normandy the Officers and Servants of the King of England, defend with no leſſe faith and courage, the right of their Master against the King of France, who with all his power, labours to subdue them, and by his large offers to the Emperour prolongs his redēption, and inhaunces his ransome. This toyle and charge is the world put into, through the misfortune and weakenesse of their hardy King, who, onely in respect of his Valour, (being otherwise not worth ſo much,) and the holy worke he undertook, (whereby he obliged the Clergy, which then managed all) got the opinion and love of his ſubjects, in ſuch ſort, as they ſtrayne even beyond their ability to recover and preſerve him, and ſo wrought in the end that the Emperour compouſed with King Richard in this manner : *That he ſhould ſend his Commissioners to London, and receive an hundred thouſand Markes of pure ſilver of Cologne iwright, to be ſealed up and ſafely conduced to the bounds of the Empire; at the perill of the King of England; and other fifty thouſand Markes of ſilver (wherof twenty thouſand for the Duke of Austrich, and thirty thouſand for the Emperour, to be payd at ſeven moneths after, and pledges to be given : threescore to the Emperoir, and ſeventy to the Duke. Besides, the King of England ſweares to ſend his Neece, the ſister of Arthur Earle of Brittaſie, to be married to the Duke of Austrich, &c.*

The Empe-
rour's com-
poſition with Ri-
chard.

And the Emperour granted to the King of England by his Chartē the for-
veraignty of Provence, Vienne and Viennoys, Marſellis, Narbona, Arls, Lyons,
and whatſoever he had in Burgōgne, with the homages of the King of Arragon,
the Earles of Dijon, and Saint Giles. In which countries were five Archbiſhop-
ricks; but the Emperour could never have domination over them, not they re-
ceive any Lord that he presented them. So that this great gife conſisted but in
Title, which yet pleased King Richard, that he might not ſeeme to part with
all his ſubſtance for nothing. And the ſame wind he ſends to Hubert the new
Archbiſhop of Canterbury, late made his Vicegerent in England, to be
blowne over all the Kingdome, by a letter wrote unto him : wherein he hath
theſe words. *For that ſure I am, you much deſire our deliveryance and greatly re-
joyce therein, we will that you be partaker of our joy, and thought fit to ſignifie to
your belovedneſſe, that the Lord the Emperour hath prefixed the day thercof, to be
upon Munday after the feaſt of the Nativity, and the ſunday after we ſhall receive
the Crowne of the Kingdome of Provence, which he hath given us, wherof we ſend
his Letters Patents unto you, and other our friends and well willers; and doe you in
the meane time, as much as in you lyeth, comfort thoſe you know love us; and deſire
our promotion. Teste me ipſo apud Spiram 22. Sept.*

King Richards
letters into
England.

The Emperour likewiſe writes to the Biſhops, Earles, Barons, and other the ſub-
jects of England, how he purpoſed to advance and magnificently to honour his eſpe-
ciall friend their King, and in this Coyne are they payd home for what they were
to lay out.

King Richard ſends after this, for his Mother Queene Elioner (who is ſtilla
Travaller) and for the Archbiſhop of Rouen with many others to come unto
him, about the time and busineſſe of his deliveryance, for which, there is im-
poſed upon every Knights Fee twenty ſhillings, the fourth part of all Laymens reve-
nues, and the fourth part of all the revenues of the Clergy, with a tenth of their
goods is enioyed to be payd. The Chalices and Treasurie of all Churches are ta-
ken to make up the ſum, the like is done in all his Territories beyond the Seas,

The Life and Reigne of Richard the first.

so dearely cost the retурne of this King from his *Easterne Voyages*.

And his Queen *Berenguela* had likewise her part of affliction in this journey, for she with her sister in Law the Queen Dowager of *Sicilia*, fearing the Emperours malice, were a whole yeare in travailing from *Palestina*, and at length were conducted unto *Poitou*. The King of *France* hearing of this conclusion made betwixt King *Richard* and the Emperour, writes to the Earle *John*, how the *Emperour* was got loose, willing him now to look to himselfe, and it vexed them exceedingly both, being disappointed thus of their hopes: and thereupon the Earle *John* leaving his Castles in *England* well defended, and incouraging his souldiers to hold out, and credit no reports, departs into *Normandy*, where he with the King of *France*, whilst King *Richard* is yet in the Emperours hands, solicites him, with the proffer of a hundred and fifty thousand Marks, or else a thousand pound a moneth, so long as he held him his prisoner. But it prevailed not, though it staggered the Emperour for a time, who in the end shewed this letter to King *Richard* (that he might see what care wastaken for him) and then delivers him to his mother *Elioner*, receiving the pledges for observation of peace, (and the rest of the ranfome unpaid) the *Arch-bishop* of *Rouen*, the *Bishop* of *Bath*, with the sonnes of many principlall Earles and Barons. And so in *February*, one yeare and six weekes after his Captivity, in the fourth yeare of his reigne he returnes into *England*, where the Bishops (in whose grace especially he was) had excommunicated the Earle *John* and all his adherents, and taken in his Castles of *Marleborow*, *Lancaster*, and a Fortresse at *S. Michels mount* in *Cornewall* defended by *Henry de Pumeroy*. But his Castle of *Nottingham*, though strongly assailed by *Ralph Earle of Chester* and the Earle *Ferrers*, and the Castle of *Tichill* by the Bishop of *Duresme*, held out for the Earle *John*, and found the King some worke to doe upon his retурne; who presently without any stay other where, came before *Nottingham* Castle with all the shew of state and greatness he could make; which yet could not so terrifie the defendants, as to make them yeeld, confident eyther in their owne strength, or in opinion that there was no King ever to returne to assault them, and supposing it but a meere shew, resolved to hold out for their maister; which put the King to much travaille, and great expence of blood before they rendred themselves, which was also upon pardon. Those of the Castle of *Tichil* yeelded to the Bishop of *Duresme*, their persons and goods saved.

The King assemblies a Parliament at *Nottingham*, where Queen *Elioner* was present, and sat on his right hand. The first day of the Session, he discesseth *Girard de Canwile* of the Castle of *Lincolne*, and the Shrieswick of that shire: from *Hugh Bardolph* he takes the Shrieswicke of *Yorkshire*, the Castles of *Yorke*, *Scarborow*, and the custody of *Westmerland*, and exposes them all to sale. The *Archbishop* of *Yorke* gives for the Shrieswicke of *Yorkshire*, three thousand markes, with one hundred markes of annall rent.

The second day of the Session the King requires judgement upon the Earle *John*, for having contrary to his oath of fealty, usurped his Castles, &c. & contracted confederacy with the King of *France* against him. And likewise judgement against *Hugh de Navant* *Bishop* of *Coventry*, for adhhering to the Earle *John*, and the kings enemies. And it was adjudged, they should both appeare at a peremptory day to stand to the law; which if they did not, the Earle *John* to be banished, & the Bishop to undergoe the judgement, both of the Clergy, as being a Bishop, and of Layety, being the Kings Shrieke; But the Bishop two yeares after, was restored to the Kings favour, and his Bishopricke, for five thousand Markes. The third day of this Session was granted to the King, of every plough-land throughout *England*,

The King of
France and
Earle *John*
proffers great
summes to
hold King Ri-
chard priso-
ner.

King Richards
retурne into
England.

1193.
Anno
Reg. 5.

A Parliament
at *Netting-
ham*.

The Life and Reigne of Richard the first.

two shillings des, the King required the third part of the service of every Knight, for his attendance in *Normandy*; & all the woorke that yearre of the Monks Cister-
aux. Whiche for that it was grievous & insupportable unto them, they sterte for money.

The fourth and last day, was for the hearing of grievances and accusations, and so this assembly brake up. But here eyther to addle more Majesty after eaſt, recoronation to be solemnized at *Winchester*, presenetly upon the Feaste of *Elizabethe* next following. Whilst the King was in these parts, *William King of Scots*, had in *England*, and withall, the Countees of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Westmerland*, and *Lancaster*. To whom the King of *England* first answered, that he would satisfie him by the advice of his Councell, which shortly after was assembled at *Northampton*; where after deliberation, he told him, that his petition ought not in reason, to be granted at that time, when almost all the Princes of *France* were his enimies, for it would be thought rather an act of feare, than any true affection, and so put it off for that time with faire promises; yet grants he by the advice and consent of the Councell, under his Charter, to *William King of Scots* and his heires for ever: That when by summons they should come to the Court of the King of *England*, the Bishop of *Duresme*, and the Shrieke of *Northumberland* should receive them at the river of *Tweed* and bring them under safe conduct to the river of *Teis*, and there the *Archbishop* of *Yorke*, and the Shrieke of *Yorkshire* should receive and conduct them to the bounds of that County; and so the Bishops and Shrieves of other shires till they came to the Court of the King of *England*; and from the time that the King of *Scots*, first entred into this Realme, he should have an hundred shillings a day al-
lowed him of gift for his charge, and after he came to the Court, thirty shilling a day, and twelve *Wastels*, and twelve *Simwells* of the Kings, fourre quarts of the Kings best wine, and six of ordinary wine, two pound of pepper, and fourre pounds of *Cinamon*; two pounds of *Wax*, or fourre *Wax lights*, forty great long perchers of the Kings best candles, and twenty fourre of other ordinary; and at his retурne to be safely conducted as he came, and with the same allowance.

From *Northampton*, both the Kings goe to *Woodstocke*, and thence to *Win-
chester*; where the Coronation is sumptuously solemnized. And thereto King
Richard resumes the two Mannors he sold to the Bishop of *Winchester*, at his
going to the holy Warre, and likewise the Castle of *Winchester* and that
County, with whatsoever sales he had made else of the Demaines of the
Crown, alledging that it was not in his power to aliene any thing appertayning
to the same whereby his State was to subfift. The Bishop of *Duresme* seeing these
revocations, did voluntarily deliver up the Castle of *Duresme*, with the coun-
try of *Northumberland*, which the King willed to be delivered to *Hugh Bar-
dolph*. *Hugh Bishop of Lincoln* gave fortheliberty of the Church one thou-
sand Markes of silvyr, redeeming thereby the custome of giving to the King
of *England* every yeare a cloake furred with *Stabells*.

Here all such who had taken part with the Earle *John*, and defended his Ca-
stles, were summoned to appeare, and all the rich were put to their ransome,
the poorer sort let goe at liberty, but under sureties of a hundred Markes a
peece, to answer in the Kings Court whensoever they should be called. The
King of *Scots*, seeing the King of *England* use all meanes for mony, offers fif-
tee thousand Markes for *Northumberland*, with the appurtenances, alledg-
ing how King *Henry the second* gave the same to *Henry his Father*, and that af-
ter him, King *Malcolm* enjoyed it five years. This large offer of mony tempted
King *Richard* so, as againe he consulted with his Councell about the matter,

Richard again
crowned at
Winchester.

Resumptions.

and in conclusion was willing to yeeld the same to the King of Scots, reserving to himselfe the Castles; but that, the King of Scots would not accept, and so with much discontent departs into Scotland, yet two yeares after this, King Richard sends Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury to Torket, there to treat with the King of Scots of a marriage betwixt his Nephew, and Margaret daughter to the layd King, to have for her Dowry all Lynox, and he would give with his Nephew, Northumberland, and the Earldome of Carlile, with all the Castles; but the Queen of Scots in the time of this treaty, being knowne to be with childe, it tolde no effect.

King Richard departs into Normandy with 100 ships.

From Winchester, King Richard departs into Normandy with an hundred ships, so that his stay in England was but from the latter end of February to the tenth of May, and that time onely spent in gleaning out what possible this kingdome could yeeld, to consume the same in his busynesse of France, which tooke up all the rest of his Reigne, being in the whole but nine yeares, and nine moneths, whereof he was never above eight moneths in England. Nor doe we finde that ever his wife Berengere was here, or had any Dowry or honour of a Queen of England, or otherwise of any regard with him, how much soever she had deserved.

And now al affaires that either concerned the State in general, or any mans particular, was (to the great charge and travaile of the Subjects of England,) to be dispatched in Normandy, and that gaue we had by our large Dominions abroad. The first action that King Richardooke upon his coming over, was the relieving of *Kernoule* besieged by the King of France, and there his brother *John*, by the mediation of their mother Queen *Eleanor* is reconciled unto him, and abjures the part of the King of France. And to make his party the stronger in those Countries, he first gives his sister *Isabella*, Queen Dowager of Sicile, to *Raymond Earle of Tholone*, being the nearest neighbour of power to his Dutchy of Guien, and might most offend him. Then enters league with *Baldwin Earle of Flanders*, from whom the King of France had taken *Artois*, and *Vermandois*, and on all sides seekes to imbroyle his enemy. Four yeares at least, held this miserable turmoyle betwixt these two Kings, surprising, recovering, ruining and spoylng each others Estate, often deceiving both the world, and themselves with shew of covenants reconciliatory, which were evermore broken againe upon all advantages according to the Mystery of Warre and ambition.

King Phillip of France to strengthen himselfe with shipping to oppose the English, marries *Beilda* the sister of *Knute King of Denmark*; but this match, made for his ends, and not affection, turned to his more trouble, for the next day after his wedding he put her away, pretending (besides other things) propinquity of blood, and for this had he long and great contention with the Church and the King of Denmark. The Emperour sends to the King of England a masse Crowne of gold, and offeres to come and ayde him against the King of France, and to invade his kingdom; but the King returnes him onely thankes, not willing to have him stirre in this busynesse, in regard he suspected the Emperour affeued to adde France to the Empire, which would not be safe to him: or that the King of France dealing with the Emperour might win him with mony, and so in the end, joyne both together against him. Now to supply the charge of this great worke, England was sure still to bear the heaviest part; and no shifte is left unsought, that might any way raise meane to the King from hence. Witnesse the Commission given to the Justices Itinerants sent into every shire of England, for exactions upon ples of the Crowne, for Escheats, Wardships, Marriages, &c. with the improvements of the Domaines,

1194.
Anno
Reg. 6.

Domaines, and the order taken for the exact knowing of the estates of men, and especially of the Lewes, on whom the King would have none to prey but himselfe: Then the raising an imposition upon allowance of Turnements, which was for every Earle twenty markes of silver: every Baron ten, every Knight having Lands, four shillings and for such as had none, two markes for a Licence. The collection wherof the Archbishop of Canterbury committs to his brother *Thobald Walter*. Beside another new scale, the old being lost by the Vice-Chancellor at the taking of Cyprus, brings in a new exaction.

Means used for mony.

But the proceeding in the pleas of the Crowne and extorting of penalties, Anno Reg. 9. by *Hugh Bardolph*, *Roger Arundel*, *Geffory Hatchet*, Justices Itinerants for Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Northumberland, Cumberland & Lancaster, was of a higher straine of exactish, and more profound, as having more of time, and presumption upon the peoples sufferance; of whom, when once it yall was made that they would beate, were sure to have more layd on them than they were able to undergoe. And with these vexations (saith *Hoveden*) all England from Sea to Sea was reduced to extreme poverty, and yet it ended not here: another torment is added to the confusion of the Subjects by the Justices of the Forrests, *Hugh Neville*, chiefe Justice, *Hugh Wac*, and *Ernise de Neville*, who nor onely execute those hideous Lawes introduced by the Norman, but impose others of more tyrannicall severity, as the memory thereof being odious, deserves to be utterly forgotten, having afterwards by the hard labour of our noble ancestors, and the goodnesse of more regular Princes, beeene asswaged and now out of use. Besids, in the same year, this King imposed 5 shill. on every hide or plough land, (which contained an hundred Acres) for the leavynge whereof a most strict course was taken: Likewise he required by the Vicechancellor the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the people of England shold finde 300. Knights for one yeare to remaine in his service, or so much mony, allowing for every Knight, three shill. per diem. Against which, *Hugh Bishop of Lincoln* opposes, and sayes, that he would never yeeld to the Kings will in this, for the detriment it might be to the Church, and example of pasterly, that shold not complaine thereof, and say: Our Fathers haue eaten sowe grapes, and the childrens teeth are set on edge; and turning to the Archbishop, wished him, that he would doe nothing, wherof he might be ashamed.

The Archbishop so hysbanded the Kings busynesse, that in Anno Reg. 7. he yeelded an account unto him, that he had leavied of the Kingdome within the space of two yeares, eleven hundred thousand marks of silver which, considering that time, is a most remarkable summe. And now, as the first act of this King was his violent proceeding in a busynesse of Treasure with *Stephen Thrustan Seneschall of Normandy*, so was it likewise the last and the cause of his destruction: for *Widomare*, Viscount of *Limoges*, having found a great Treasure of silver and gold in the ground, sends a good part thereof to the King, which he refuses, laying claime to the whole; *Widomare* denying the same, the King layes siege to his Castle where he imagined the Treasure was hid; they of the Castle being but weake, offered to render the same, their lives, members, and armour saved; which the King would not yeeld unto, but swore that he would ransacke the Castle, and hang them all. Whereupon desperately they resolved to stand to their defence. King Richard with *Murchar*, General of the Brabantons going about the Castle to view what place was fittest for an assault; *Bertram de Gurdun*, from the walls shot a barbed arrow that hit the King in the arm, with such a deadly blow, as hee was presently sent to his lodging: notwithstanding commands he his forces to prose-

*Vnde cetera
milia Moro-
ry. Hoved.*

cute the assault, without intermission; which they did, and tooke the Castle putting to execution all the defendants except Bertram, who by the Kings command was reserved.

But the arrow drawne out with great torture, left the head behind, which being by a rude Chirurgion, after much mangling the flesh hardly cut out, brought the King to deceiptes of life, and to dispole of his Estate, leaving to his brother John three parts of his Treasure, and the fourth to his servants.

Which done, he willed Bertram Guardun to be brought unto him, of whom he demanded, what hurt he had done him, that provoked him to doe this mischiefe: to whom Bertram replies: *Thou hast killed my father and my two brothers with thine owne hand, and now wouldest have slaine me; take what revenge thou wilst. I willingly endure whatsoever torture thou canst inflict upon me: in respect I have slaine thee, who hast done such a great mischiefe to the World.* The King notwithstanding this rough and desperate answere, caused him to be let loose, and not onely forgave him his death, but commanded 100. shillings starling to be given unto him, but Marchard after the King was dead, caused him to be hanged and flayed.

The Death of King Richard.

1199.
Anno
Reg. 10.

This was the end of this Lyon-like King, when he had reigned nine yeares, and nine monthes, wherein he exacted, and consumed more of this Kingdome, than all his predecessors from the Norman had done before him, and yet lesse deserved than any, having neyther lived here, neither left behind him Monument of Piety, or of any other publique worke, or ever shewed love or care to this Common-wealth, but onely to get what he could from it. Never had Prince more given with lesse adoe, and lesse noise than he: The reason whereof, as I have sayd, was his undertaking the holy Warres, and the cause of Christ, with his suffering therein; and that made the Clergy, which then might doe all, to deny him nothing; and the people, fed with the report of his miraculous valour, horrible encounters in his voyage abroad, (and then some victory in France) were brought to bear more than ever otherwise they would have done.

Then had he such Ministers here to serve his turne as preferred his, before the service of God, and did more for him in his absence, than ever peradventure he would, or could have done for himselfe by being here present. For both to hold their places and his good opinion, they devise more shifis of rapine, than had ever beene practized before in this Kingdome, and cared not so he were satisfied, what burthen they layd on the Subject; which rent and torne by continual exactions was made the more miserable, in that they came betrayed with the shew of Religion and Law, the maine supporters of humane society, ordayned to preserve the state of a people, and not to confound it. But the insolent overcharging the State in these times, gave occasion to the future, to provide for themselves, excesses ever procure alteration. And the successors of this King were but little beholding unto him; for out of his and his brothers irregularity, their boundlesnes came to be brought within some limits. Yet what this King would have proved, had his dayes allowed him other than this rough part of war, we know not; but by the operation of a poore Hermits speech made unto him, we are shewed that he was convertible. For being by him vehemently urged to be mindfull of the subversion of Sodome, and to abstaine from things unlawfull, thereby to avoyd the vengeance of God, he upon an insuing sicknes (a sounder Coughsailor than health) remembred this advertisement, vowed a reformation of his life, and did afterward upon his recovery, every morning rise early to heare Divine service. For which Hoveden hath this note: *How glorious it is for a Prince to begin and end his*

his actions in him, who is beginning without beginning, and judges the ends of the earth. Besides, he growes hospitable to the poore, and made restitution of much Church vessel, that had been taken and sold for ransome.

Though this King had no issue, yet was he told by a Priest in France, that he had three crull daughters, and admonished to put them away, and bestow them abroad to avoyde the punishment of God. The King gave him the lie and sayd, he knew none he had. Yes Sir, replied the Priest, three daughters you have, & they are these, Pride, Covetousnesse, and Letchery. The King calling those who were present about him, and relating what the Priest had said, willed them to be witnessess how he would before these three daughters, which the Priest charged him withall. The 1. which is Pride, I give unto the Templars and Hospitallers; Covetousnesse, to the Monks of Cisteaux Order; & Letchery to the Clergy: This sudainc restoration shewes us his quicknes, & what kind of men were maligned, & out of his grace.

The end of the Life and Reigne of Richard the first.

His issue.

The Life and Reigne of King John.

O H N having his brothers Army in the field, with all his Servants and Followers, entertaines them generally with promises of large rewards, and thereby had the advantages of time, power, and opinion, to helpe him onto his desires. Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury being upon businesse in those parts, and the most potent Minister he could wish, for so mighty a worke, he presently dispatches for England, with William Marshall Earle of Striguill, Geffrey Fitz, Peter, &c. to prepare the people to receive him for their King: who, especially dealing with those who most doubted would oppose him, and undertaking for him that he should restore unto them their rights, and governe the Kingdome as he ought, with moderation; wrought so as they were all content upon those conditions, to sweare fealty unto him against all men. These undertakers likewise, send word to William King of Scots (to hold him in, from any attempt) that he should also have full satisfaction for what he claimed in England, upon the returne of their new Maister. And so were all things made cleare on this side. But on the other, the right of succession, which was in Arthur the elder brothers Sonne, stirred affections of another nature, the nobility of Aniou, Maine, & Turcin, maintaining the usuall custome of inheritance, adhere to Arthur, whom his mother Constance puts under the Protection of the King of France, who receives him and undertakes the defence of his right.

John having his chiefe ay me at the Crowne of England, could have no time of stay to close those ruptures that so violently brake out there, but having received the investiture of the Dutchy of Normandy, and performed all those rites, he speedily, with his mother Elioner (who must have her part in every act of her Sons) passes over into England, and by way of Election receives the Crowne upon the Ascencion day, at the hands of Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, who in his Oration, (as it is recorded in Mat. Par.) before the whole assembly of the State, shewed, *That by all reason, divine and humaine, no one ought to succeed in the Kingdome, but who should be for the worthiness of his vertues, univerſally chosen by the state, as was this man, &c. which then seems especially urged in respect his title of succession would not carry it.* And the Archbishop afterward, upon this point, being questioned, confessed to his friends, *That he foresaw this man would, (what blood and mischiefe soever it should cost) in the end obtaine the Crowne.* And therefore the safer way was to prevent

1199.
Anno
Reg. 1.

King Johns coronation.

vent confusion, that the Land shold rather make him King than he make himselfe, and that this election would be sometyme upon his death.

So came *John* to the Crowne of *England* which he governed with as great injustice as he gan it, and imbarkeed the state and himselfe, in those miserable imcombrances, thorow his violences and oppression, as produced desperate effects, and made way to those great alterations in the government which followed. The Queene Mother, a woman of an high and working spirit, was an espéciall agent in this preferment of her sonne *John*, in respect of her owne greatnessse, knowing how she shold be more by him, than she could be by her grand-childe *Arthur*, who had a mother would looke to become Regent here, and so over-shadow her estate, which was a thing not to be endured. Besides, *Arthur* was a child, borthe and bred a stranger, and never shewed unto the Kingdome, so that he had nothing but his right to draw a party, which could not be such (in regard of the danger of the adventure, things standing at they did) that could doe him any great good. Men being content rather to embrace the present, though wrong, with safety, than seeke to establish anothers right, with the hazard of their owne confusion.

England secured to King John.

1200.
Anno
Reg. 2.

Prince Arthur and his mother fie to Angiers.

The State of *England* secured; King *John* returnes into *Normandy* upon no notice given of the defection wrought in those parts by *Philip* the French King, who had given the order of Knight-hood to *Arthur*, and taken his homage for *Aniou*, *Poitou*, *Main*, *Turcin* and also for *Normandy* (in regard as he pretended) that King *John* had neglected to come, and doe him homage for the same, as members held of the Crowne of *France*. King *John*, not willing upon his new and doubtfull admission to the government to ingulph himselfe into a suddaine Warre, mediates a parle with the King of *France*, who well understanding the time, and his owne advantages, requires so unfeasable condicions, as King *John* could not, without great dishonour yeeld unto, and so they fall to the sword. The King of *France* under pretence of working for *Arthur* gets for himselfe; which being discovered, *Arthur* with his mother *Constance*, are brought (by the perswasion of their chiefe Minister *William de la Roche*) to commit themselves to the protection of King *John*, of whom likewise conceiving a suddaine jealousie, (or else informed of his purpose to imprison them) the next night after their comming got secretly away and fled to *Angiers*. So this young Prince, borne to be crusht betweene these two potent Kings (intending only their owne ends) gave occasion by leaving them both, to make both his enemies. After many attempts, and little gaine on either side, another treaty is mediated by the Popes Legats, wherein King *John* buyes his peace upon these yeelding conditions: That *Louys*, eldest sonne to King *Philip*, should marry his Neece *Blanch*, daughter of *Alphonso* king of *Castile*, and have with her in *Dowre*, the City and Country of *Eureux*, with sundry Castles in *Normandy*, and 30000. Markes in silver. Besides, promises, if he died without issue, to leavc unto him all his territories in *France*. And that he wold not ayde his Nephew *Otho*, (lately elected Emperour) against Phillip brother to the late Emperour *Henry the sixt*, whom the King of *France* favoured, in opposition of Pope *Innocent*, who tooke the part of *Otho*.

After this peace made, *Otho* taking it unkindly to be thus forsaken of his Uncle *John*, sends his two brothers, *Henry Duke of Saxony*, and *William Winton* (so titled, for having beeene borne at *Winchester*) to require the City of *Eureux* and the County of *Poitou*, and two parts of the Treasure which his Uncle King *Richard* had bequeathed unto him, besides other moveables; but they come too late, the obligation of blood, and rendring of dues is held to be of an inferiour nature to the present interests of State. To this unkind and unnatural

unnatural act he presently addes another: Repudiates his Wife (daughter to the Earle of *Glocester*, alledging consanguinity in the third degree) and marries *Isabel* daughter and inheritrix to the Earle of *Angouleme* fianced before to *Hugh le Brun*, Earle of *March* (a Peere of great estate and alliance in *France*) by consent of King *Richard*, in whose custody she then was. And having finisched these distailefull busynesses, he refusnes to give as little contentment into *England*, where he imposes three shillings upon every Plough-land, to discharge the great dowry of 30000. Markes he was to give with his Neece *Blanch*; the collection whereof *Geffrey* Archbishop of *Yorke* opposites within his Province. For which, and for refusing, upon summons to come unto this late Treaty in *France*, the King causes his Shrieafe *James Poter*, to seaze upon all his temporalities. The Archbishop interdicts the whole province of *Yorke*, and excommunicates the Shrieafe. King *John* shortly after makes a Progresse with his wife Queen *Isabell*, over all the North parts unto *Scotland*, and exacts great fines of offenders in his Forrests. In his passing through *Yorkshire*, his brother the Archbishop, refuseth him wine, and the hollour of the bells at *Beverley*, but by the mediation of four Bishops, and four Barons, and a great sum of money, a reconciliation is made betweene them, with promise of reformation of excesses on eyther part. Upon Easter day (after his retorne from the North) the King againe is crowned at *Canterbury*, and with him *Isabell* his Queen, by the Archbishop *Hubert*. And there are the Earles and Barons of *England* summoned to be ready with horse and armour to passe the Seas with him presently upon Whitson tide; but they holding a confecte together at *Leicester*, by a generall consent send him word, That unless he wold render them their rights and liberties, they wold not attend him out of the Kingdome. The King saith *Howden*, using ill counsell, required of them their Castles, and begins with *William de Aubery*, demanded to have his Castle of *Beaufort*; *William* delivers his sonne in pledge, but kept his Castle. Notwithstanding this refusall of the Lords, having taken order for the government, he passes over with his Queen into *Normandy*, where his presence, with the great shew of his preparations, caused the revolters to forbear their enterprizes for that time; and a farther ratification, with as strong covenants; and cautious as could be devised, is made of the agreements with King *Phillip* of *France*, who feasts the King of *England* and his Queen at *Paris*, with all complements of amity.

And here both Kings, solicited by the Popes Legat grant a Subsidy of the fortieth part of all their Subjects revenues for one yeare (by way of Almes) to succour the holy Land. For the leavying whereof in *England*, *Geffrey*, *Pete* *Peter* chiefe Justiciar sends out his Writs by way of tequest and perswasion, and not as of due or correction, to avoyd example.

But many moneths passed not ere a new Conspiracy brake out by the instigation of *Hugh le Brun*, who stung with the rapture of his wife (a wrong of the most sensible touch in nature) combines with *Arthur*, the Barons of *Poitou* & *Brittan*, & raised a strong side, which the King of *France* (notwithstanding all thosetyes wherein he stood engaged to the King of *England*) betakes himselfe unto, in regard of his owne interests and advantages, from which no bands could with-hold him; and againe both these Kings are in Armies. The King of *France* declares himselfe for *Arthur*, to whom hee marries his youngest daughter: requires King *John* to deliver up unto him all his territories in *France*, and by a peremptory day summons him to appeare personally at *Paris* to answer what shoulde be layd to his charge, and abide the Arrest of his Court, which King *John* refusing, was by sentence adjudged to lose all he held of that Crowne.

King John puts away his Wife.

1201

Anno

Reg. 3.

An imposition
of three fl. upon every
Plough-land.

His second coronation.

1202.

Anno

Reg. 4.

Then

The Life and Reigne of King John.

He takes his
Nephew Ar-
thur prisoner.

Arthur mur-
dered.

1203.
Anno
Reg. 5.

King John
fines the Ba-
rons.

1205.
Anno
Reg. 7.
A Parliament
at Oxford.

1206.
Anno
Reg. 8.

Then is he assailed on one side by the King of France in Normandy, on the other by Arthur, and the Barons of Aniou, who lay siege to Mirabel, defended by Elioner the Queene mother, and were upon the point of taking it; when King John, with greater expedition and force than was expected, came and deſcited the whole Army in the assaylants, tooke Prisoner the Earle Arthur, Hugh le Brun with the Barons of Poitou, and above 200 Knights, and men of command, all which he carried away bound in Carts, and dispersed into divers Castles both of Normandy and England.

This victory, which might ſeeme enough to have eſtablished his estate, undid him; for by the ill uſing thereof he lost himſelfe, and his reputation for ever. Arthur is ſhortly after muſthered in prison, and the deede layd to his charge, which, with the cruell execution of many his Prisoners and Oſtages, ſo exasperates the Nobility of Brittaine, Aniou, and Poitou, as they all take Armes againſt him, and ſummoned he is to anſwer in the Court of Iuſtice, of the King of France, to whom they appeale: which, he refuſing, is condemned both to loſe the Dutchy of Normandy (which his Anceſtors had held by the ſpace of 300, yeares) and all his other Provinces in France; whereof the next yeare after, either through his negligence, being (as they write), given over to the pleaſures of his young wife, or by the revolt of his own Minifters (increaſed likewiſe againſt him) he became wholly diſpoſefſed.

And in this diſtaſterous eſtate, he returns into England, and charges the Earles and Barrons, with the reproch of his loſſes in France, and haſes them to pay the ſeaventh part of all their goods for refuſing him ayde. Neyther ſpared he the Churche, or the commons in this impoſition, Of which rapiſe (faith Mat. Par.) were executors, Hubert Archbiſhop of Canterbury for the Clergy, and Geffrey Fitz Peter, Iuſtiſor of England for the Laity. But all this treaure collected, amounted not to anſwer his want, or the furniſhing of reſh supplies for the recovery of his loſſes (for which he urges the ſame to be rayſed) and therefore againe in leſſe than the ſpace of a yeare, another leavy (but by a fairer way) is made. A Parliament is convoked at Oxford, wherin is grauted two Marks and a halfe of every Knights fee for military ayde: neither de parted the Clergy from thence, till they had likewiſe promiſed their part. No ſooner is this money gathered, but a way is opened, into that all-devouing Gulphe of France to iſſue it, through a revolt begun in Brittaine, by Guido (now husband to Conſtanſe, mother of Arthur) Saveri de Malcon, and Almeric Lusignian, Confederates with many others; who receiving not that ſatisfaction, expected from their new Maſter, call in their old againe, to ſhow us, that mens private intereſts, howſoever Honour and Iuſtice are pretended, onely ſway their affections, in ſuch actions as theſe.

And over haſtes King John, and by the power he brought, and what he found there, wonne the ſtrong Castle of Mont Alban, and after the City of Angiers, and was in a faire way to have recovered more, but that the King of France, by the fortune of one day, (wherein he overthrew and tooke prisoners the chiefe confederates Guido, Almeric, and Saveri) forced him to take truce for two yeares, and retурne into England for more ſupplies.

And here another impoſition is laid of the thirteenth part of all moveables, and other goods both of the Clergy and Layety: who now ſeeing their ſubſtances thus conſumed without ſucceſs, & likely ever to be made lyable to the Kings desperate courses, begin to caſt for the recovery of their ancient im munities, which upon their former ſufferance had beene uſurped by their late Kings, and to eaſe themſelves of theſe burthenes indirectly laide upon them. And the firſt man that opposed the collection of this impoſition, was againe the

The Life and Reigne of King John.

131

The cauſe of
the breach be-
tweene the
King and his
people.

the Archbiſhop of Yorke, who ſolemnly acuered the receyvers therof with in his Province, and ſecrety conveyed himſelfe out of the Kingdome, deſirous rather to live as an exile abroad, than to endure the militey of oppreſſion at home: men accounting themſelves leſſe injuriously riſed in a Warre, than in a place where they preſume of ſafety.

And hence grew the beginning of a miſerable breach, betweene a King and his people, being both out of proportion, and diſ-joynted in thofe iuit Ligaments of Commaund and obedience that ſhould hold them together, the reducing whereof into due forme and order againe, cost more adoe, and more noble blood, than all the warres forraigne had done ſince the Conqueſt. For this contention ceaſed not (though it often had ſome faire intermiſſions) till the great Charter made to keepe the beame right betwixt ſovereignty, and ſubjection (firſt obtained of King John, after, of his ſonne Henrie the third (thoſh obſerved truly of neyther) was in the inaturity of a judiſtiall Prince, Edward the firſt, freely ratified Anno Reg. 27. which was above fourteene yeareſ. And was the firſt civill diſſention that ever we finde, ſince the eſtabliſhing of the English Kingdome, betweene his King and his Nobles, of this naüre. For the better knowledge whereof, wee are to take a view of the face of thoſe timeſ, the better to judge of the occaſions given and taken of theſe turbulençies.

It was thiſt time, about 130, yeareſ ſince William the firſt had heere planted the Norman Nobility, whose iuſſe being now become meere English, were growne to be of great numbers, of great meaneſ, and great ſpirits, ever exerciſed in the Warres of France, where moſt of them were commanders of Caſtles, or owners of other Estates, beſides what they held in England; and being by this violent and unſuccesfull King ſhut ouſt from action, and their meaneſ abroad, they praſe to preſerve what was left, and to make themſelves as much as they could at home. Which, by their martiſal freedom, and the priuiledges of the Kingdom(necceſſity now driving them to look into it) ſtey more boldly preſume to attempt, in regard they ſaw themſelves, and the Kingdome brought to be perpetually haraſfed at the Kings will, and that violence and corruption hath no faculty to preſcribe upon them: wherein their cauſe was much better than their proſecution. For whiſt they ſtrive to recover what they had loſt, and the King to keepe what he by advantage of time and ſufferance had gotten, many unjust and iuſtinent courſes are uſed on eyther ſide, which leave their ſtaine to posterity, and make foule the me-emory of thoſe times. We can excuse no part herein, all was ill, and out of order. A diſeaſed head firſt made a diſtempered body, which being not to be recovered apart, rendred the ſickneſſe ſo long and tedious as it was. Besides, the ſtrange corruption of the ſeaſon concurred, to adde to thiſ miſchieſ; an ambiſious Clergy polluted with avarice, brought Piety in ſhew to be a preuumptive party herein, and takes advantages upon the weakeſſeſſes they found, for which, the Roman Churche heares ill to thiſ day. And the occaſion of their interpoſition in thiſ buſineſſe began about the election of a new Archbiſhop of Canterbury (Hubert being lately dead) which the Monkes of that Covent had made ſecrety in the night, of one Reginald their Subpri- or, to prevent the King whom they would not, ſhould have a hand in the buſineſſe, which they pretended to appertayne frecly to themſelves by their anciēnt priuiledges. And thiſ Reginald (thus elected) they iſtantly diſpatch towards Rome, taking his oath of ſecrefie before hand. But the fulneſſe of his joy burst open that locke, and out comes the report of his advancement, upon his lan ding in Flanders; which the Monkes hearing, and fearing what would follow, ſend

Reginald first
choſen Archbi-
thop by the
Monkes.

send to the King to crave leave to ele & a fit man for that See. The King nominates unto them *John Gray* Bishop of *Norwich*, whom he especially favoured, & perswaded them (upon great promises of their good) to preferre the Kings desire is propounded to the Covent, and after much debate, is *John Gray* advanced to the Chayre.

Wherein their last error (saith Mat. Par.) was worse than their first, and began that discord, which after prooved an irreparable damage to the Kingdome:

The King sends to *Rome* certaine of the Monkes of *Canterbury* (amongst whom was one *Hilas de Brandfie*, a most trusty servant of his) with bounifull allowance, to obtaine the Popes confirmation of this Election. And about the same time likewise send the Bishops suffragans (of the Church of *Canterbury*) their complaints to the Pope against the Monkes, for presuming to make election without their assistance, as by right and custome they ought: Alledging examples of three Archbishops so elected. The Monkes oppose this allegation, offering to bring prooфе that they onely, by the speciall privilege of the Roman Bishops, were accustomed to make this election. The Pope appoints a peremptory day, for deciding this Controversie; wherein the first election for being made in the night, out of due time, and without solemne ceremony, is oppugned by the Kings procurators: The last was urged by some of the Monkes, to be ill, by reaſon there was no cassation of the first, which just or unjust, ought to have beeне, before any other election, could juridically be made.

The Pope seeing the procurators not to agree upon one person, by the Councell of the Cardinals adjudged both elections vovyd, and presents unto them a third man, which was *Stephen de Lancton*, a Cardinal of great spirit, and an English man borne, who had all the voyces of thole Monkes which were there, through the perfwation of the Pope, alledging it was in their power by his prerogative to make good this choycce.

Innocent the fourth.

Stephen Lancton Elected
Archbishop of *canterbury*.

Stephen Lancton thus elected, and after consecrated at *Viterbo*, the Pope dismissed the Monkes and the rest of the Agents with Letters to King *John*, exhorting him, benignly to receive this *Archbishop* Canonically elected, native of this Kingdome, learned in all the Sciences, a Doctor of Theologie; and, which exceeded his learning, of a god life and conversation: a man fit, both for his body and his ſoule, &c. Withall he writes to the Prior, and Monkes of *Canterbury*, charging them by the vertue of holy obedience to receive the *Archbishop* to their *Pastor*, and humbly to obey him in all ſpirituall and Temporall matters.

These letters, with the notice of what was done at *Rome*, so enraged the King, as with all precipitation he sends *Fulke de Cantie*, and *Henry de Cornhill*, two fierce Knights, with armed men, to expell the Monkes of *Canterbury*, as Traytors, out of the Kingdome, and to seize upon all they had; which presently was as violently executed as commaunded, and away packe the Prior and all the Monkes into *Flanders* (except such as were ſicke and not able to goe) and all their goods confiscated.

Herewithall he writes a ſharpe letter to the Pope, accuſing him of the wrong he did in caſing the election of *Norwich*, whom he eſpecially favoured, and advancing *Stephen Lancton*, a man unknowne to him, bred ever in the kingdom of France and among his enemies; and what was more to his prejudice, and ſubverſion of the liberties appertaining to his crown, without his consent (given to the Monks) which ſhould first have bin required, he had presumed rashly to prefer him: ſo that he much meruailed that the Pope and the universall Court of *Rome*, would not call to minde how neceſſary his friendſhip had hitherto bin to that See; & conſider that the kingdome of England yeelded the ſame greater profit, and commodity, than all the kingdome

King *John* offendeth with this election, writes to the Pope.

domes elf on thiſ ſide the Alpes. Besides, that he would ſtand for the liberty of his Crowne to the death: conſtantly affirming, that he could not be revoked from the Election and preferment of the Bishop of *Norwich*, whom he knew every way fit for the place. And in conclusion threatens, That if hee be not righted in the premitis, hee would ſtop up the paſſages of his people to *Rome*; and that if neceſſity required, hee had in the Kingdome of England, and other his Dominions, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates of ſo ſufficient learning, as they needed not to begge iuſtice, and judgement of ſtrangers. The Pope returnes anſwer to the Kings Letter, and begins with these words, When about the buſineſſe of the Church of *Canterbury*, wee wrote unto you, exhorting and requesting you humbly, earnestly, and benignely, you againe wrote back to us, (as I ſay, by your leaue) in a fashion threatening, reproving, contumacious, and very ſtubbornly; and whiſt wee tooke care to give you above your right, you regard not to give us according to our right, reſpecting us leſſe than becomes you. And if your devotion be moſt neceſſary for us, ſo is ours no leſſe fit for you. When wee, in ſuch a caſe have honoured no Prince ſo muſch as you, you ſtike not to deroge from our honour, more than any Prince in ſuch a caſe would have done: pretenting certayne frivoſous occaſions, wherin you alladge that you cannot conſent to the election of our beloved ſon *Mr. Stephen Presbyter* by the title of *Saint Chrysogonus Cardinal*, celebrated by the Monkes of *Canterbury*; for that hee hath beeſe bred amonſt your enemis, and his person is altogether unknowne to you. Then argues he, That it was not to be imputed unto him for a fault, but was his glory to haue liued long at *Paris*, where he ſo profited in ſtudie, as he deserved to be Doctor, not only in the liberall Sciences, but alſo in Theologie; & his life agreeable to his learning was thought fit to obtaine a Prebend in *Paris*. Wherefore hee held it a marveile if a man of ſo great note, native of England, could be unknowne unto him, at leaſt in fame, ſince (ſaith he) you wrote thrice unto him after hee was by us preferred to be Cardinal, that though you had a deſire to call him to your familiar attendance, yet you rejoiced that he was exalted to a higher Office, &c.

Then excuses he the poyn̄t, that the Kings conſent was not required, in regard that they who ſhould haue required the ſame, affiſmed how their letters never came to his hands, &c. Although (ſaith he) in elections celebraſed at the *Apostolick See*, the conſent of Princes is not to be expeſted, yet were two Monkes deputed to come to require your conſent, who were stayed at *Dover*, ſo that they could not performe their meſſage injoynd them: with other allegatiōns to this effect, ſo that at length (ſaith hee) we were diſpoſed to doe what the Canonickal Sanctions ordained to be done, without declining either to the right hand or to the left, that there might bee no delay or difficulty in right intentions, leſt the Lords flocke ſhould bee long without pastorall cure; and therefore revoked it cannot bee. In conclusion hee uſeth these words, As wee haue had care of your Honour beyond right, endeavour to giue us ours according unto right, that you may more plentifullly deſerve Gods graſce, and ours; leſt if you doe otherwife, you cast your ſelſe into thofe difficulties, whence you cannot eaſily get out: Since hee in the end muſt overcome, to whom all knees bow in Heaven, Earth and Hell; whose Vicegerencie heere below (thoſh unwoorthy) wee exerclſe. Yeeld not therefore to their counſels, who deſire your diſturbance, that themſelues might ſiſh in troubled waters; but commit your ſelſe to our pleaſure, which will redound to your Praife, Glorie, and Honour. Neither is it ſafe for you to repigne againſt God and the Church, for which, the bleſſed Martyr and gloriouſ Bishop *Thomas* lately ſhedde his blood, eſpecially ſince your Father and Brother of cleare memory, late Kings of England, haue in the hands of the Legates of the *Apostolick See*, abjured that

The Life and Reigne of King John.

impious Custome. We, if you acquire your selfe, will sufficiently take care for you and yours, that no prejudice shall arise unto you hereby. Dated at Lateran the 10 yeare of our Pontificat.

The Popes
Mandate to
the Bishops

Thus we see how these two mighty powers strive to make good each others prerogative, and defend their interests with words. But when the Pope understood how the King of England had proceeded against the Church of Canterbury, he sends presently his mandate to the Bishops of London, Eley, and Worcester, to deale with the King by way of exhortation, to reforme himselfe; and if they found him still contumacious, they should interdict the whole kingdome of England. If that would not correct him, then himselfe would lay a severe hand upon him; and withall charged the Bishops Suffragans of the Church of Canterbury, by vertue of their obedience, to receive for Father the Archbishop Stephen, and to obey him with all respect. The Bishops as they were enjoyned, repaire to the King, shew the Popes Mandate, and with teares besought him, *As he had God before his eyes, to call home the Archbisshop, and the Monkes of Canterbury to their Church, and vouchsafe to use them with honour and charitie, thereby to avoyde the scandall of interdiction, &c.*

King Johns
answer to the
Bishops.

1208.
Anno
Reg. 11.

The King interrupting the Bishops speech, breakes out into violent rage against the Pope and the Cardinall, swearing by the teeth of God, *That if they or any other should dare to put the kingdome under interdiction, hee would presently send all the Clergy of England to the Pope, and confiscate their goods. Besides, If any of Rome were found within any parts of his Land, hee wouold cause their eyes to be put out, their noses cut, and so sent home, that by these markes they might be knowne of other Nations.* Charging moreover the Bishops presently to avoyde his presence, as they wouold avoyde their owne danger.

Of this their ill satisfaction, the Bishop certifies the Pope; and shortly after the whole kingdome of England is interdicted: all Ecclesiastical Sacra-ments cease, except Confession, Extreme Vnction, and Baptisme of Children. The dead are carried out, and put into the earth without Priest or prayer. The Bishops of London, Eley, Worcester, Bath, and Hereford secretly get out of the kingdome.

To answer this violence with the like, the King sends presently his Sherifes and other his Ministers, to command all Prelates and their servants, forthwith to depart out of the kingdome; deputes the Bishopricks, Abbeys, & Priories into the hands of Lay-men, confiscating all their revenues; but the Prelates themselves get into Monasteries, and would not out, except expell-ed by force: which the officers would not doe, having no Commission for the same, but they seize on all their goods to the Kings use.

Here the Monastical Writers of that time (by whom onely we have notice of these proceedings) aggravate the rigorous course taken in this busines, telling us, that religious men of what order soever, found travailing, were pulled from their horses, robbed, and vily treated by the Kings servants, and none to doe them justice. And how the servants of a Sherife bringing bound unto the King a theefe (who had robbed and killed a Priest) to know what should be done with him: the King said, *Loose him and let him goe, hee hath killed our enemy.* But nowsover this were, there were Excesses too many committed in a time so untied as this was.

The King
takes pledges
of his Nobles
for their fide-
lity.

The King to prevent the defection of his Subjects, which he daily doubted would follow upon this his breach with the Church, sends with a military power, to all the potent men of the kingdome, to require pledges for the assurance of their fidelity, wherin many of them satisfied the kings will, sending some

The Life and Reigne of King John.

some their sonnes, some their nephewes, other the nearest of their kинie. William de Brause, a Noble-man being required to deliver his pledge, his wife preventing her husbands answer, tells the Commissioners, *That the King should have none of her sons to keep, that was so ill a keeper of his owne brothers son, Arthur; for which iuddaine & intemperate speech, the Baron sharply reprehending his wife before the Kings servants, told them, he was ready if he had offended, to satisfie the King, without any pledge, according to the judgment of his Court, or that of his Peeres, at any time or place wheresoever.*

Vpon the report of this answer, the King sends downe privily to apprehend the Baron, but he having notice, or doubting what would follow, fled with his wife and children into Ireland; where, afterward this afflicted Lady to recover mercy of the King, is said, to have sent Queene Isabel four hundred Kine, and a Bull, which yet could not mediate her pardon, or pacifie his wrath. But in the end shee was there taken with her two sonnes (the husband escaping into France) and sent prisoner to the Castle of Windsor, where shee with her two innocent children were famished to death; so dearely paid shee for the offence of her rash tongue.

The King displeased with the Londoners, removed his Exchequer to Northampton, and with a great Army marches towards Scotland, to make warre upon that King for receiving his enemies, and ayding them against him. But by mediation an accord is made, in this sort, that the King of Scots should pay eleven thousand Markes of siluer, and deliver up his two daughters pledges for securing the peace. Returning back, he caused all inclosures within his Forrests to be laid open, a worke of great grieve to his subjects; whom, though in nothing he sought to satisfie, yet seekes he what he may to fasten them in their obedience (wherof love and not rigour is the surest bond) and takes homage of all free Tenants, yea even of children of twelve yeares of age, throughout the kingdome.

Two yeares, to the great distraction of the State, the interdiction held, when the Pope, seeing no yeelding in the King, procedes to the excommunication of his person, that extreame course of abscission, which his predecessor Alexander, better advised, forbore to take, upon a suggestion of a more heynous act committed by Henry the second, upon the person of Thomas Becket; and by this violence, thinking to quale the heart of a most unmasterable King, put him into more desperate rage with the Clergy, who notwithstanding the Popes mandate, durst not execute the same for many dayes after. And first one Geffery Archdeacon of Norwich, serving in the Kings Exchequer, conferring with the rest of his Assistants about this Sentence, affirmed, it was not safe for men beneficed to remaine in the obedience of an excommunicated King; and so without leave retired himselfe home, & was the first subject of his Masters wrath. Who presently sent Sir William Talbot with force to apprehend him, and lay him fast in fetters in a most streight prison, and afterward, upon the Kings commandement, he was put into a sheete of Lead, wherein, with the weight and want of victualls he soone perished.

This Excommunication of the King of England, was accompanied the same yeare with that of the Emperour Otho his Nephew; and are noted to be staines of an unjust nature, especially for being both done in casis of the Popes owne particular interest, seeking to extend a predomination beyond the bounds allowed unto piety, which was, only to deal with mens soules, and not their estates. For in the advancement of this Emperour Otho the third, the Pope had an especiall hand, opposing, for his owne ends the election of Philip sonne to the Emperour Frederick Barbarossa. And in the vacancie of the Empire had seized

His cruelty
shewed to the
wife and chil-
dren of Willi-
am de Brause.

The Exche-
quer removed
to Northamp-
ton.

King Johns
excommu-
nicated.

The Archde-
acon of Nor-
wich forsakes
the Kings ser-
vice, his tort-
ure & death.

The Emperour
Otho excom-
municated.

upon certaine peeces in Italy appertaining thereunto; which, oþo seeking to revoke, procured undeservedly the Popes displeasure, who sent unto him divers messages, willing him to desist both from the prosecution of this recovery, as also from that which *Frederick King of Sicile* (who was under the tutition of the Apostolick See) had seised upon.

The Emperour is said to have answered the Popes Nuncii in this manner: *If the Pope unjustly desires to usurpe what appertaines to the Empire, let him absolve me from the oath he caused me to take at my coronation; which was, That I should revoke whatsoever rights were distracted from the same; and I will desist.* But the Pope refusing the one, and the Emperour not yeelding unto the other, the sentence of Excommunication is pronounced against him. And all the States, as well of Germany as the rest of the Roman Empire, are absolved of their fealty unto him. Thus were these two mighty Princes, the greatest of all the Christian world, left to the mercie of their subjects; who, though they were by this meanes all untyed from obedience, yet many were not so from their affections, or other obligations that held them firme unto their Soveraignes. For there are so many ligaments in a State that tye it together, as it is a hard thing to dissolve them altogether, unlesse it be by an universall concurrencie of causes that produceth a generall alteration thereof. And it is seldome seene of what temper soever Kings are, but they find an eminent party in the greatest defection of their people. As this King (the first of England, we find put to this straight, had yet many noble members of power, besides the chief Officers of the kingdome (whom their places confirm) that stuck unto him, whose names are recorded in *Mat. Par.* and other Writers.

1210.
Anno
Reg. 12
King John ie. formes Ireland

The Clergy pay to the king 100000 l. ster.

1211.
Anno
Reg. 13.

And the next yeare, being the twelst of his reigne, with this Treasure hee reduces Wales (that had rebelled) to his obedience, and takes eight and twenty children of the best families for pledges of their future subjection. Returning thence, exacts of every Knight that attended not his Army in that expedition, two Markes; and at Northampton is pleased to receive the Popes Agents, *Pandolphus* and *Durandsu* (sent to make peace betweene the kingdome and Priesthood) by whose exhortation, and the consideration of the State of his kingdome, he consented that the Archbishop and the

Monkes

Monkes of Canterbury, with all the exiled Bishops, should in peace returne to their owne. But refusing to make satisfaction for their goods confiscated, the Agents depart unsatisfied, to the greater prejudice of the King; whom now the Pope finding to bee yeelding in any thing, falls to be more imperious to constraine him to all whatsoever hee desired: And absolves all the Kings subjects of what condition soever from their obedience, strictly forbidding them, under paine of excommunication, his Boord, Counsell, and Conference. Which notwithstanding prevailed not to divert the Subjects from the service of their King. Who about this time takes occasion, upon the breaking out of certaine poore Mountainers of Wales, that made pillage upon the Borders, to raise another Army to invade the whole Countrey. And being at *Nottingham*, prepared for this action (before hee would sit downe to dinner) caused those eight and twenty children, the innocent pledges of the Welch, to be all hanged in his presence. But before hee had dined, Letters came that gave him intelligence of a conspiracie intended for his owne destruction; and that if he went forward in this Warre, hee would be either slaine of his owne people, or betrayed to the enemy. Whereupon he returns to *London*, againe requires, and hath pledges of those Nobles hee suspected, and here *Eustace de Vescy*, & *Robert Fitz Walter* are accused of the conspiracie, who fled, the one into *Scotland*, the other into *France*.

But now the Pope, for the last and greatest sentence that ever yet was given against any Soveraigne King of this kingdome, pronounces his absolute deposition from the Royall government thereof; and writes to the King of France, *but as he looked to have remission of his sins, he should take the charge upon him, and expell King John out of the kingdome of England, and possesse the same for him, and his heires for ever.* To the same effect sends hee likewise his Letters to the Princes, and great men of other Nations, *That they shoulde aide the King of France in the dejection of this contumacious King of England, in revenge of the injuries done to the Universall church, granting like remission on their sinnes, as if they undertooke the holy Warre.*

And with this Commission is the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other exiled Bishops of England with *Pandolphus*, dispatched to the King of France for the execution thereof. Which, notwithstanding, seemes rather done to terrifie King John, than any way to advance the King of France, whom the Pope desired not to make greater than he was: howloever, to amuse the world, he made shew to ingage him in this busynesse. For he gave a secret charge to *Pandolphus* apart, that if upon the preparation, and forces gathered by the King of France for this dejection, he could worke the King of England to such conditions as he should propound, absolution and restoration should be granted unto him.

The King of France, upon this act of the Pope, and the sollicitation of his Ministers, commands all the Princes and Nobility within his Dominions, to assembler their forces with Horse, Armour, and all Munition, to assist him in this busynesse, and be ready, under paine of exhereditation, at the Spring of the yeare: preparing likewise a great Navy for the transportation of these forces into England. King John, upon intelligence hereof, sends to all the ports of his kingdome commandement, to have all shipping whatsoever possible to be made ready with all expedition: Summoning likewise all Earles, Barons, Knights, and who else could keare Armes of any condition, to be ready at Dover presently upon Easter, furnished with Horse, Armour, and all militarie provision to defend him, themselves, and the kingdome of England against this intended Invasion, under paine of Culvertage, and perpetuall servitude.

N 3

Where-

1212.
Anno
Reg. 14.

1213.
Anno
Reg. 15.

The Pope gives the kingdome of England to the King of France

The King of France assembler his forces for England

King John's preparations for defence.

Whereupon so great numbers resorted to Dover, Faverham, Ipswich, and to other places suspected, as exceeded the meanes both of furnishment, and provision to entertaine them. So that multitudes were sent home againe of unnecessary men, and onely a choys reserved of the abler sort, which arose to the number of sixty thousand well appointed for battell. Besides, so mighty a Navy was made ready, as exceeded that of France.

And thus prepared, King John expects his enemies, who secretly two Knights, Templars, sent by Pandolphus, so wrought with him, as notwithstanding all this great power of his, hee descends to accept of a treaty with him. Whereof Pandolphus is presently advertised, and withdrawes himselfe out of the French Kings Army, comes over, and so terrifies King John, with the mighty forces bent against him, & the eminent danger wherein he stood, as hee yeelds to any conditions whatsoever propounded unto him. And not onely grants restitution and satisfaction of what ever had beeene taken from the Archbishop, and the Monkes of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Ely, Bath, and Lincolne, (who were fled to the Archbishop) but also layes down his Crowne, Scepter, Mantle, Sword, and Ring, *the ensignes of his Royalty*, at the feete of Pandolphus, delivering up therewithall the Kingdome of England to the Pope, and submits himselfe to the judgement and mercy of the Church.

*King John deli-
vers up the
kingdome of
England with
his Crowne to
Pandolphus.*

*The causes
that moved
King John to
this act.*

*Pandolphus for-
bids the French
Kings procee-
ding.*

Two dayes (some write sixe) it was before the Legate restored him his Crowne : at the receiving whereof, he swore (and his Earles undertaking for him) *that hee and his successours should hold the Kingdome of England, and Lordship of Ireland, from the Sea of Rome, at the annuall tribute of a thousand Markes of Silver.* And this, with his homage and fealty, hee confirmed by his Charter at a house of the Templars, neere Dover. The especiall weighhts that moved King John to this extreame lownesse, they of those times note to be. First, the consideration of his offences to God, having lived five yeares excommunicated, to the great deformity of his kingdome. Secondly, the greatnessse of his enemy the King of France, and his adherence. Thirdly, the doubtfull faith of his Nobilitie, whom he had offended. Fourthly, for that the Ascension day was at hand ; after which, one Peter a Hermit and Southsayer had prophesied, hee should bee no more King of England. Which, though mistaken in the manner, was fulfilled in a sort by this resignation, and a new condition of Estate. But the Southsayer with his sonne, suffered shortly after the penalty of death, for his otherwise interpreted divination.

Now, notwithstanding this act and submission of King John, the interdition of the kingdome continues, and his owne absolution deferred, till restitution and full satisfaction were performed to the Clergie; of which, eight thousand Markes of silver was presently delivered to Pandolphus ; who at the receiving thereof, tramples it under his feete, as contemning that base matter, in respect of the grace conferred upon the Transgressor ; and returnes with the same into France. Where he declares what had passed in England, and forbids the King of France upon paine of excommunication, to proceed any further in this enterprise, seeing King John had thus submitted himselfe to the Church.

The King of France, now all in readinesse for this great invasion, and full with hope of Victory, receiving this suddain and unexpected message, grew into great rage, and was, in regard of his honour, and infinite charge, hardly diverted from this enterprise. Yet in the end, seeing his confederates and followers quailed with this menace of the Church, extremely discontent, hee gives it over.

Not-

Notwithstanding, for his owne reputation and desire of revenge, having all these great forces on foote, and his Navy ready in the mouth of Seine, would undertake something to give satisfaction both to the Adventurers, and his owne people interested in this action. And for that, Ferrand Earle of Flanders, adhering to King John, refused to follow him in this expedition, on him he falls (as being next him) enters into his Port of Dam, *vowing that Flanders should either be France or France Flanders.* Ferrand, seeing this tempest come to light upon him, sends for ayde to King John, who glad, having escaped at home the occasion of a defensive Warre, to enter into an offensive abroad, both to employ this great collected Navy of his, and also put his people in action, whose dismission without some satisfaction, hee knew would breed no safe humour, dispatches five hundred Sayle, with seven hundred Knights into Flanders, under the conduct of his base brother William Long-sword Earle of Salisbury, Reginald Earle of Bologn, whom hee had lately entertained with a pension, being for some demerit driven out of France. And these arriving at the Port of Dam, where they found the French Navy unorderly dispersed, and without defence (their forces going out to invade the Countrey) set upon, and utterly defeated the same, and afterward joyning their power with that of Ferrand, drove the King of France home with great dishonour, and exceeding losse.

King John raised with this victory, and his peace with the Church, sets upon great desygnes, taking opportunity of this disaster of the King of France, whom, in revenge of his injury, and hope of recovering his transmarine Dominions, he plots to assayle on all sides : stirring up his Nephew Otho to ayde the Earle of Flanders, for an invasion upon the East part, whilst himselfe with all his power should enter upon the West. For execution whereof, first hee sends supplies for treasure to his Chieftaines in Flanders, then assembles a great Army at Portsmouth, wherewith hee resolves to passe the Seas.

But his desygne contrary to his desire and haste, came to be delayed by the withdrawing of his Nobility, who refused to ayde or attend him, untill hee were absolved, and had confirmed unto them their liberties : wherewith much enraged, seeing no other remedy, hee speedily sends for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other Bishops which were yet in France, promising them present restitution and satisfaction, under the hands and seales of fourte and twenty Earles and Barons, undertaking for the performance thereof, according to the forme of his Charter granted in this behalfe. Pandolphus with the Bishop and the rest of the exiled Clergy, forthwith come over, and finde the King at Winchester, where he goeth forth to meeet them, and on his knees with teares receives them, *beseeching them to have compunction on him, and the Kingdome of England.* Absolved he is with great penitence and compassion exprest with teares of all the beholders, and swears upon the Evangelists, *to love, defend, and maintaine holy Church, and the Ministers thereof, against their adversaries to the uttermost of his power : That he would renew the good Lawes of his Predecessors, and especially those of King Edward, abrogating such as were unjust : Judge all his subjects according to the just judgement of his Court : That presently upon Easter next following hee would make plenary satisfaction of whasoeuer had beeene taken from the Church.*

Which done, hee returns to Portsmouth, with intention to passe over into France, committing the government of the kingdome to Geffery Fitz Peter, & the Bishop of Winchester, with charge that they should order all busynesses, together with the counsell of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

*The French
King sets upon
Flanders.*

*The Nobility
refused to ayde
King John.*

1214.
Anno.
Reg. 16

And here a numerous company of soldiery repairing to him, complained that by their long attendance their money was spent, so that they could not follow him, unless they might be supplied out of his Exchequer : Which the King refusing to doe, in a great rage, with his private family, takes ship, and puts forth to the Isle of Jersey ; but seeing none of his Nobles or other to follow him, was forced, having lost the opportunity of the season, to retorne into England ; where he gathers an Army, with intention to chastise the Lords who had thus forsaken him. But the Archbishop of Canterbury followes him to Northampton, Vrging, that it was against his Oath taken at his absolution, to proceede in that manner against any man, without the judgement of his Court. To whom the King in great passion replied, That he would not deferre the busynesse of the kingdome for his plesure, seeing Lay judgement appersained not unto him ; and so in fury marches to Nottingham.

The Archbi-
shop threatens
to excommuni-
cate the
King.

This Charter
is recorded in
Mat. Par. with
testes of the
Subscribers.

Legem Regis
Edwardi vobis
reddo cum illis
clementioribus
quibus Pater
minus ac ene-
davit.

Mat. Par.

The Archbishop followes him, and plainly told him, That unless he would desist from this busynesse, he would excommunicate all such as shold take Armes against any before the releasing of the interdictio[n] ; and would not leave him, untill he had obtained a convenient day for the Lords to come to his Court, which shortly after they did, and a Parliament is assembled in Paules, where-in the Archbishop of Canterbury produces a Charter of King Henry the first, wheby he granted the ancient liberties of the kingdome of England which had by his predecessours beene opprest with unjust exactions according to the Lawes of King Edward, with those emendations which his Father, by the counsell of his Barons did ratifie. And this Charter being read before the Barons they much rejoyned, and swore in the presence of the Archbishop, that for these liberties they wold if need required, spend their blood. And therewithall concluding a confederacion with the Archbishop, the Parliament brake up.

Shortly after dyes Geffery Fitz Peter, Justiciar of England, a man of a generous spirit, learned in the Lawes, and skilfull in government. Who in that brokentime, only held uncrated, performing the part of an even Counsellour and Officer betweene the King and kingdome ; whom though the King most used, he most feared and least loved, as ill Princes doe their worstieth Ministers, whose gravity and judgement may seeme to keepe them in awe. And hearing of his death, rejoyning said, Now when he comes into Hell, let him salute the Archbishop Hubert, whom assyrdly he shall finde there. And turning to thos about him, swore by the fecte of God, that now at length he w[ill] be King and Lord of England, having a freer power to untie himselfe from those knots which his oath had made to this great man against his will, and to breake all the bands of the late concluded peace, unto which he repented to have ever condescended. And to shew the desperate malice of this King (who, rather than not to have an absolute domination over his people, to doe what he listed, would be any thing himselfe vnder any other that would but support him in his violences) there is recorded an Embassage (the most base and impious that ever yet was sent by any free and Christian Prince) unto Miramumalim the Moore, intituled the great King of Africa, Morocco, and Spaine, wherein he offered to render unto him his kingdome, and to hold the same by tribute from him, as his Soveraigne Lord : To forgoe the Christian Faith (which he held vaine) and receive that of Mahomet. In which negotiation, the Commissioners are named to be, Thomas Hardington, Ralph Fitz Nicholas Knights, and Robert of London Clerke. The manner of their accessio[n] to this great King is related, with the delivery of their mes-sage, and King Johns Charter to that effect ; and how Miramumalim ha-
ving

ving heard at large their message, and the description both of the King and kingdome, with the nature and disposition of the people, so much distained the basenesse and impiety of the offerer, as with scorne hee commanded his Ministers to depart instantly out of his presence, and Court. Yet afterward, to understand some more particulars of the madnesse of this King of England, he called for Robert the Clerke, & had priuate conference with him apart, of Mathew the Monke of Saint Albans, who wrote and declared these things, describing the person of this Robert, to be of a low stature, black, one arme shorter than another, two fingers unnaturally growing together, of a visage like a Jew, &c. which relation we are not utterly to contemne, proceeding from an Author of that gravity and credit, and living so neare those times, though to us that are so farre off both in fashion and faith, it may seeme improbable in some parts; yet if we consider whereto the desperate violence of this King (who had made utter wrack of conscience, and all humane respect) might carry him, seeing himselfe in that estate he was, we may not think it voyd of likelihoode to have had this dealing with an Heathen King (who, in that time was formidable to all Christendome, and had on foote the nigh-est Army that ever the Moores had in Spaine) which might either bee to hold amity with him, or entertaine him otherwife for his own ends. Though for the point of offering to forgoe the Christian faith, wee may in charity forbear to make it a part of ours. Althogh this Relator gives us a note (amongst other which he supprest) that pointed at the irreligion of this King, who at the opening of a fat Stagge, jestingly said, See how prosperously this beast hath lived, and yet never heard Mass. Which scoffe, in regard of the zeale then professed, favoured of an impiety unfiting the thourth of a religi-ous King, and gave scandal to the hearers, who tooke it according to their apprehension, apt to censure whatsoever comes from the mouth of Princes, which may warne them to be wary what they utter in publick.

But this Embassage, either neglected by Miramumalim, or disappointed by the overthrow of his great Army, with the death of his Sonne, which shortly after followed ; King John sets upon another course, assayles Pope Innocent (prone to be wrought by gift to doe any thing) with great summes of money, and a re-assurance of his tributary subjection, which shortly after he confirms by a new oath, and a new Charter before the Popes Legate the Bishop of Tusculum, sent over for the same purpose, and with full autho-ritie to compose the dissensions betweene the Kingdome and Priesthood. Which at many Assemblies in divers places was after debated, and in the end order was taken, for a plenary satisfaction to be made for the dammages done to the Church. For which the King upon account already, had payed twenty seven thousand Markes, and thirteene thousand more were undertaken by sureties, to be answered by a certaine day.

And hereupon is the interdictio[n] released, having continued six yeares, three moneths, and foureteene dayes, to the inestimable losse of the Church and Church-men, whereof an innumerable multitude of all orders now re-paire to the Legate for satisfaction of dammages received by the Kings Mi-nisters during this interdictio[n]. To whom the Legate answers : That it was not in his Commission to deale for restitution to be made unto them all, but advises them to complaine to the Pope, and crave of him plenary Justice. Wherupon they depart much discontented, holding the Legates proceeding (for that he pleased not them) inclining only to please the King : Who now is recommended to Rome for a most tractable, obedient, and indulgent Sonne

Miramumalim
receives the
message of
King John.

A note of the
Kings irrelig-
ion.

King John
bribes the Pope
and renewes
his oath.

The interdi-
ction released.

1214.

Anno

Reg. 16.

Sonne of the Church, and the Clergy heares of blame for their obstinacie used towards him.

The King having referred the ending of all this controversie to the Legate, and some other of his owne Ministers (being assured of the Popes favour) was now gone into Poitou, to assisse (according to his designe) the King of France on that side: whilst his forces with those of the Emperour Otho, by the way of Flanders, invaded him on the other. And being with his Queen landed at Rosbeh, many principall Barons of Poitou (apt to promise than performe their faith) came and swore fealty unto him: With whom hee marches forward into the Countrey, recoveres many Castles and peeces of importance. Whereof particularly by his owne Letters from Parthenay, he certifies his Justices of the Exchequer: And withall shewes them how he had granted to the Sonne of the Earle of March, his daughter Iوان in marriage, though, said he, the King of France desired her for his sonne, but fraudulently, &c.

After this he goes into Brittaine, takes in the City of Nantes, prepares to encounter with Louis the French Kings sonne, who was come downe with a mighty Army to oppose his proceeding. But the Poitouins distrusting his power, or he them (having discovered the forces of the enemy) refused to fight: Whereupon the King of England, to his extreame griefe, forsooke the field, and made a dishonourable truce with the King of France; and this was the last of his transmarine attempts. His forces into Flanders had farre worse successe; for the King of France with all the power he could possibly make, encouyters them at the Bridge of Bouines, and overthrew the Emperour Otho; and the whole Army of the confederates, wherein are reported to have beene an hundred and fifty thousand foote besides horse, and in the battaille slaine a thousand five hundred Knights, and taken prisoners, Ferrand Earle of Flanders, the Earles of Salisbury, and Bologne. And (as report the Annals of Flanders) the Earle of Sauoy, the Dukes of Brabant and Limburg, and the Earle of Luxenburg: the Emperour Otho the fourth hardly escaped, and lived not long after.

Vpon these misfortunes, & fearing the outrage of a necessitous and distempered King, the Barons of England assemble themselves at S. Edmonsburie, where they conferre of the late produced Charter of Henry the first, and swore upon the high Altar, that if King John refused to confirme and restore unto them those liberties, (the rights of the kingdome) they would make war upon him untill he had satisfied them therein: And further agreed, that after Christmas next they would petition him for the same, and in the meane time provide themselves of Horse and Furniture, to be ready if the King should start from his Oath made at Winchester at the time of his absolution, for the confirmation of these liberties, and compell him to satisfie their demand. After Christmas they repaire in a military manner to the King lying in the new Temple, urging their desire with great vehemensie: the King seeing their resolution and inclination to war, made answer, That for the matter they required, he would take consideration till after Easter next; and in the meane time, hee tooke upon him the croffe, (rather, as is said, through fear than devotion) supposing himselfe to be more safe under that protection. But the Lords continuing their resolution, foreseeing nothing was to be obtained but by strong hand, assemble an Army at Stamford, wherein are said to be two thousand Knights, besides Esquires with those that served on foote, and from thence marched towards Oxford where the King then expected their coming, according to the appointed time, for answer to their demands:

And

The famous
battale of Bo-
unes.The death of
the Emperour
Otho.King John
takes upon
him the croffe
to secure him-
selfe from the
Barons.The resolution
of the Barons
assembling
their Army at
Stamford.

And being come to Brackly with their Army, the King sends the Archbishop of Canterbury, and William Earle of Pembroke Mareschall, with other grave Counsellours, to demand of them, what were those Lawes and Liberties they required, to whom they shewed a Schedule of them, which the Commissioners deliver to the King, who having heard them read, in great indignation asked why The Barons did not likewise demand the kingdome, and swore, that he would never grant those Liberties whereby himselfe should be made a servant. So harsh a thing is it to a power that hath once gotten out into the wide liberty of his will, to heare againe of any reducing within his circle: not considering how they who inherit Offices succeed in the obligation of them, & that the most certain means to preverve unto a King his kingdomes, is to possesse them with the same conditions that he hath inherited them.

The Barons upon his answer, being as hasty as he was averse, resolve to seize on his Castles, and presently march towards Northampton, which they besiege, constituting Robert Fitz Walter their Generall, intituling him the Marschall of the Army of God, and holy Church. And after they assayle the Castle of Bedford, where William de Beauchamp rendring his charge, receives them; and the Londoners send thither privy message to joyn with them, and deliver up the City to be guarded by their discretion.

And thither they repaire, and are joyfully received, under pact of their indemnity, where daily increasing in number of new confederates, they make their protestation, never to give over the prosecution of their desire, till they had constrained the King (whom they held perjured) to grant them their rights.

King John seeing himselfe in a manner generally forsaken, having scarce seven Knights faithfull unto him, counterfeites the Seales of the Bishops, & writes in their names to all Nations, that the English were all Apostates, and whosoever would come to invade them, he, by the Popes consent, would conferre upon them all their lands and possessions. But this devise working no effect, in regard of the little confidence they had in the King, & the power of the kingdome: a new mediation is made to the Barons by the Earle Mareschall and others, and a parle is had betweene Windsor and Stanes, in a Meadow called Running-mede, (a place anciently used for such conferences) where after many meetings and much debate, the King freely consented, for the glory of God, and emendation of the kingdome, to confirme those lawes & liberties formerly restored, and in part ordained by Henry the first.

And to the end that all discord should utterly cease, he grants for the intire and firme enjoying their Lawes and Liberties, Security in this manner: That there should be five and twenty Barons chosen of the kingdome, such as they would, who should to their utmost power cause the same to be held and observed. And that, if either the King or his chiefe Justiciar should transgresse in any Article of the Lawes, and the offence shewed, four Barons of the five and twenty should come to the King, or in his absence out of the kingdome, to his chiefe Justiciar, and declare the excesse, requiring without delay, redresse for the same: which if not made within the space of forty dayes after such declaration, those four Barons should referre the cause to the rest of the five and twenty, who with the Commons of the land might destraine and enforce him by all meaneys they could (vix. by seieng upon his Castles, Lands, and Possessions or other good) (his person excepted, and that of his Queen & Children) till amends should be made, according to their arbitration. And that whosoever would, should take their Oath for the execution hereof, and obey the commandement of the five and twenty Barons herein without prohibition. And if any of them dissented, or could not assemble, the major

A Schedule of
the demands
of the Lords.The Lords
seize on the
Kings Castles.The Lords re-
paire to Lon-
don.King John for-
saken of his
people.The Earle
Mareschall &
other mediate
a reconcili-
ation. A Parlia-
ment for re-
storing the
Rights and
Liberties of
the kingdome.Articles of the
agreement
confirmed
by King John.

major part to have the same power of proceeding. Besides for more caution, the four Chatelaines of the Castles of Northampton, Kneleworth, Nottingham, and Skarborough, should be sworne to obey the Commandement of the five and twenty Barons, or the major part of them, in whatsoever they thought good concerning those Castles. Wherein none should be placed but such as were faithfull, and would observe their Oath, &c. That all strangers, whereof divers are expressly nominated should be moved out of the Kingdome. And a generall pardon granted for all transgressions committed, through the occasion of this discord, from the beginning thereof to this present time. And mutual Oathes taken of both sides, in solemn manner, for the inviolable observing all these Articles. The King likewise sends his Letters Patents to all the Sherifes of the Kingdome, to cause all men of what degree soever, within their severall Shires, to sweare to observe those Lawes and Liberties thus granted by his Charter.

1215.

Anno
Reg. 17King John by
evill counsell
frustrates his
owne Grants.Retires into
the Isle of
Wight, and
writes to the
Pope.
The Pope ex-
communicates
the Barons.The errorre
of the Barons.

And in this manner (though it were to be wished, it had not beene in this manner) were recovered the rights of the kingdome. Whereof, though they seeme to have now the *Livery* they had not the *Seisin*. For presently the King being loose from the doing, which he pretends to be by force, unlooses the Deed, and there wanted not those about him, who observing which way his will bent, to turne him more violently upon that side; not in regard of his good, but their owne interests, making more profit by his irregularity than otherwise they could of his orderly courses: Telling him, he was now a King without a Kingdome, a Lord without a Dominion, and a subject to his Subjects. Wicked Counsellours, as if it were not enough, to be above men, but to be above mankinde, as those Princes would be, that would be under the Law; considering the preservation of Kings and Kingdomes is to have the balance of satisfaction, both of the one and other, equall. But by such Counsellors is he confirmed in his refractory humour. And worthily that Prince deserves to be deceived in his executions, who understands not, as well the Counsellours as the Counsell.

Resolved he is (given over to confusion and revenge) to dissolve this tye, and privily withdrawes himselfe into the Isle of *Wight*, from whence hee sends his Agents to *Rome*, (where now he could doe any thing) to complaine of this inforted act to the Pope, who by a definitive Sentence, first condemnes and nullifies what was done, and after excommunicates the Barons: who during this absence and retire of their King, knowing the violence of his nature, and doubting their owne danger, keepe in and about the City of *London*; and there under colour of Turnements and exercise of Armes, invite those who were abroad to resort unto them, and so retaine themselves together in a combination for their owne defence, without seeking farther to interrupt their Kings courses, either by surprise of his person, which they, being of so great strength, might easily have done, or using meane to intercept his Agents, and take from him those limbes of his power that might worke to offend them.

But this must either argue that their end was only to have (but what they had obtained) the restitution of the Liberties of the kingdome (which though thus recovered by violence they seemed desirous to hold with peace) or else their negligence, which may be thought strange in those wakefull and active times, to be such, as to leave a displeased King alone to his owne working, especially removed to a place, where the Sea being open unto him, his out-spendings might be without view or noting: unlesse either they presumed of his little credit abroad, or their owne power at home.

But during this his retire in the Isle, which was three moneths, he slacks

no time to put his desires in execution, and besides his dispatch to *Rome*, sends the Bishop of *Worcester*, Chancellor of *England*, the Bishop of *Norwich*, and others with his seale, to procure him Forraine forces out of such parts beyond the seas, as held correspondency with him, appointing them to reape to *Dover* about *Michaelmas* next. In the meane time, without any royll shew or stirre (attended with some borrowed servants of the Bishop of *Norwich*, and Marriners of the Cinke-ports, whom he entertained) he, as they write, fell to piracy, and exercised himself at sea: whiles various reports are made of him here shal land; some giving out, that he was turned *Fisher*, some a Merchant, others a Pyrate. But at the time appointed he meetes at *Dover* with those Forraine forces, drawne together out of *Poitou* and *Gascogne*, under the conduct of *Savarie de Malcon*, *Geffrey*, and *Oliver Buseville* brothers; with others out of *Lorraine*, and *Brabant*, under *Walker Bucke*, *Gerrard Satin*, and *Godshall*, all desperate adventurers, leading an execrable sort of people, whose miserable fortunes at home, easily drew them to any mischiefe abroad; and with these is King *John* furnished to set upon his owne people. And had not *Hugh de Bouis* (to whom the Countries of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk* were allotted for service to be done, settling forth from *Calais* with 40. thousand men, women and children) beeene by a sudden tempest downed in the sea, he had made an universall conquest of the Kingdome, farre more miserable than the Norman: considering that with those he had, he wrought so much as we shall heare presently he did.

For, after he had recovered the Castle of *Rochester*, which *William de Albiger*, with memorable coura, held out three months against all that mighty power of his (the Barons not able or not adventuring to succour him), hee marched over the most of the Kingdome, and within halfe a yeare got in all the Castles of the Barons even to the borders of *Scotland*, and was absolute Maister of all *England*, except the City of *London*, on which he forbore to adventure, in regard of the clole united power of the Barons that refolutely held and vowed to dye together; and separate them he could not, and therefore from *Rochester* he marches to *S. Albans*, where the first publication of the Popes excommunication of the Barons is pronounced.

And here he devides his Army (consisting most of ravenous strangers) in two parts: appointing his brother *William Earle of Gloucestre*, with *Alcaline Savary de Malcon* Leader of the *Poitou* and *Brother*, and *Bro* of the *Flemings* and *Brabantines*, to guard the countries and Castles about the City of *London*, to cut off all provisiohs, and annoy the Barons by all meane possible: himselfe with the other part of his Forces drawes Northward, and layes waste al the countries before him, and both these Armies set ouly upon destruction, and all thold calamities, that the rage of a disorderly Warre could compasse upon a miserable people that made no head at all against them. All countries suffer in this affliction, and King *John* marching as farre as *Burne*, had bin tolde to have carried it farther threatening *Exeter* and King of *Scotl*. That he would burne the City to his hole, alluding to his red hand, had he not then called from that attempt to come backe to these parts upon diverse very sly new Desaignes practised by the Barons, who seeing themselvys deprived of their Estates, given away to Strangers, their wives and daughters violated, all their substance confisched, desperatly fall upon another extreme, making due for all costed *John* the French Kings *Richme*, offering him to take upon him the Crownes of *England*, wherein they promised by their franchises to invest him, and to send plieages for the performance thereof, being perwaded that those Forces of the French, which King *John* had entai ned,

The King
sends
to leavy
forraigne for
ces.
and
man gne

He meetes
with them at
Dover.

Hugh de Bouis
with 40000.
men, saved
many out of
Flanders
drowned.

shalt regna
et auctoritate
mea. et in
The King in
halfe a yere
recovers all
his Castles.

1216.

Anno

Reg. 18

King *John* at
S. Albans,
vide his arm
in two parts.

The Barons
forfeue Louys,
King Edward
take upon him
the Crown of
England.

The Pope
writeth to di-
vert Louys
from the en-
terprise.

assisted
in his
endeavor

and a
new
beginning

Louys lands
in Kent, 21.
of May,
in 1207 and
1208 & 1209
He dyed
1211

.D.I.S.I
ONI
The Kynge
had the Po-
pes excom-
muni-
cation
wedgith
the Po-
pes

tertained, would upon the comming of those aydes for the King of France, beeing their Soveraigne, forsake him. This messege is entreyned, a Parliament is called at Lyons, by King Phillip the Fathir of Louys, the busynesse consulted, and resolved upon. Louys belidese the assurance made of his profferred election, relies upon a title which he claimes by his wife Blanche, daughter to the Sister of King John, and whiche to the Barons that he would shortly send them succour, and not be long behnd to be with them in person.

The intelligence of this designe is soone intimated to the Pope, who prefierly sends his Agent to the King of France, with letters to intreat him, not to suffer his sonne to invade or disquiet the King of England, but to defend him. In regard he was a vassall of the Roman Church, and the Kingdome, by reason of Dominion, appertaining thereto. The King of France answers, That the Kingdome of England never was, nor is, or ever shall be the patrimony of St. Peter, and that King John was never lawfull King thereto, and if he were, he bid for seised the same by the ministrer of Arthur, for which he was condemned by his Courte, yet could he graue away the Kingdome without the consent of the Barons who are bound to defend the same. And of the Pope would maintaine this道理, it would be a pernicious example for all Kingdomes.

Herewith the Popes Agent departs unfinished, Louys having first dispatched Commissioners to Rome to declare his right and justifie his undertaking, sets forth from Calice with 600 ships, and 80 other velleys, and lands with his Army at Sanavich. King John attends him at Poole, with purpose to encounter him at his landing, but upon notice of his great power, and distrusting the Faith of his mercenariis, having pronounced the taking of the Castle of Dover to Hubert de Burgh, forsakes the field (and with it himselfe), retyres him to Winchester, after so/leicester, and leaves all to the will of his enemy Louys, who, after he had obsayned the submision of all Kent, (exept the Castle of Dover which he never conquered) his comys to London, where he is joyfully received of the Barons, and soon his Oath taken to restore their Lawes and recover their rights, hath homage and fealty done him, as the Soveraigne of England, bith the same likewise the Charles Martel, Arundel, Savoy, William Mareschall the younger with many other (for taking King John) and rendred themselves unto him.

On the Popes Agent notwithstanding the sword was out in all the way of his passage, gorte Gloucester, shewes King John the Popes care of him, and in tokening meynor, pronoufces the sentence of Excommunication against Louys, and all that shal shew him selfe with him, which though it brought him some comfort for the time, yet to looke up to nothing from the enemy, neither could it be helpeable his merchaniis, but that most of them left him, and either returned home, into their countreys, with such moynes as they had, or betooke themselves to other new compayns. King John was not yet so forrikes, but that he had power enough remaining to resist the King, not incounter his force, and falle hym selfe abroad amongst many of his Ministers, that well defendid their charge. Dover Castle with a small Company holds out against all the force that 7000 could bring against it. Windsor Castle gardeed but with three score men could not be wonne, with all the power of the Barons; some other paces, as Newficham and Lyminge Castles, made very resolute resistance, but nothing at all can save the ruine of the Countrye, the most yelding and ferteul parts of the Kingdome, as above, Gaffeston, the Marches of Wales, Hereforsire, Cambrayshire, Northumbray, Suffolke, Essex, and about London are the stages of this war, where they act their mischiesse, which continued all that summer. And about the latter end of October, burning

burning Fever makes an end of this fiery King, which tooke hir upon an extreame griefe conceived for the losse of his carriages sunke in the Sands, passing the Washes betweene Lin and Boston; and was augmented by a surfeit of Peaches, and new Ale taken at the Abby of Swineshead, from whence in great weakenesse he is conveyed to Newarke, where, after he had received the Eucharist, and taken order for the succession of his sonne Henry, he departs this life, having reigned 18.yeares, five moneths, and four dayes.

The Abbot of Crokston, a man skilfull in Physicke, and at that time the Kings Physition, disbowelled his body, who, no doubt would have given notice to the World, had his Maister (as it was in afterages vainely bruted) beeene poysoned by a Monke of Swinshead Abby, but the Writers of those times report no such matter. Howsoever his Death takes not away the reproach of his life, nor the infamy that followes him, whereunto ill Princes are as subject as their evill Subjects, and cannot escape the brute of a clamorous Pen, witnessse this Distique:

*Anglia sicut adhuc sordet factore Iohannis,
Sordida sedatur ferdante Iohanne Gehenna.*

He had issue by his wife Isabel (daughter to Aymer Earle of Angolesme) two sonnes, Henry and Richard, also three daughters Joan, Elioner, and Isabell.

Henry succeeded him in his Kingdome, Richard was Earle of Cornewall, and Crowned King of the Romans, and had issue Henry and John that dyed without issue, also Edward Earle of Cornewall and others.

Joan the eldest Daughter(marryed to Alexander the second, King of Scots) dyed without issue.

Elioner the second daughter(marryed to Simon Earle of Leicester) bad issue Henry, Simon, Almaricke, Guy, Richard, and Elibet. Henry slaine without issue: Simon Earle of Bigorre, and Ancestor to a Family of the Mountfords in France. Almaricke first a Priest, after a Knight. Guy Earle of Angleria, in Italy, and Progenitor of the Mountfords in Tuscaine; and of the Earles of the Campo Bacchi in the Kingdome of Naples. Richard remaining privily in England, and changing his name from Mountford, to Wellesborne, was Ancestor of the Wellesbornes in England. Elioner borne in England, brought up in France, married into Wales to Prince Lewin ap Griffith.

Isabel their youngest daughter (marryed to the Emperor Fredricke the second) had issue, Henry appointed to be King of Sicile, and Margarets wife of Albert, Landgrave, Thurine. She dyed in child-bed after she had beeene Empresse six yeares. He had also two naturall sonnes. Goffrey Fitz Roy, that transported soldiers into France, whien Hubert forbade his Father to goe thither: Richard, (that marryed the daughter and Heire of Fulbert de Dover (who built Childham Castle) had issue by her, of which some Families of good esteeme are descended. Likewise one naturall Daughter Joan married to Lewin Prince of Wales.

The end of the Life and Reigne of King John.

The Life and Reigne of Henry the third.

HE death of King John, though it much altered, yet it ended not the miserable busynesses of the Kingdome: For Louys, notwithstanding held his hopes, and his party thought much shakken by the suddaine Coronation of Henry, eldest sonne to King John, solemnized in a great Assembly of States at Gloucester.

The death of
King John.

Mast. Par.

His issue.

John Speede.

1216.
Anno
Reg. I.

Henry the
third crowned
at Gloucester.

ster the 28. of October, and committed to the tutelage of the great Marshall, William Earle of Pembroke, the maine Pillar of the Father, and now the preserver of the Crowne to his sonne, a man eminent both in courage and Counsell, who with Guallo the Popes Legate, the Bishops of Winchester, Bath, and Worcester, wroke all meanes to draw the Barons, and as many of power as they could to their new and naturall King, from this Excommunicate stranger, and his adherents. And bred great fluctuation in the mindes of most of them doubtfull what to resolve upon, in regard of the tender youth of Henry, and their Oath made to Louys.

But such was the insolence of the French, making spoyle and prey of whatsoever they could fasten on (and now invented by Louys, contrary to his Oath, in all those places of importance they had recovered) as made many of the English to relinquish their sworne fidelity, and forsake his part. Which more of them would have done, but for the shame of inconstancy, and the danger of their pledges, remayning in France, which were great tyes upon them. Besides, the popular bruit generally divulged concerning the confession of the Viscount Melun a French-man, who lying at the point of death, toucht with compunction, is sayd to reveale the intention, and vow of Louys (which was utterly to extinguish the English Nation, whom he held vile, and never to bee trusted, having forsaken their owne Soveraigne Lord) wrought a great aversion in the hearts of the English, which whether it were indeede uttered, or given out of purpose, it was lo to be expected, according to the precedents of all in brought Forreiners upon the divisions of a distract-ed people.

And first William Earle of Salisbury, mooved in blood to succour his Ne-phew, tooke away a maine pce from the side of Louys, and with him the Earles of Arundel, Warren, William, sonne and heire to the great Marshall, returne to the fidelity of Henry, after six moneths they had revolted to the service of Louys, which now may be thought was done but to temporise, and try the hazard of a doubtful game; otherwise a brother would not have forsaken a brother, nor so Noble a Father, and sonne have divided their starres. Notwithstanding Louys found hands enough to hold London, with all the Countries about it a whole yeaere yeare after, so that the young King was constrained to remaine about Gloucester, Worcester, and Bristow, where his wakefull ministers faile not to employ all meanes to gather upon whatsoever advantages could be espied, & at length so wrought as they drew the enemy from the head of the Kingdome downe into the body, first into Leicester shire to relieve the Castle of Montfrel a pce appertaining to Sac de Quincy Earle of Winchester, a great partisan of Louys, and after by degrees to Lincoln, where a Noble Lady called Philippa (but of what Family, time hath injuriously bereft us the knowledge) had, more than with Feminine courage defended the Castle, the space of a whole yeaere, against Gilbert de Gant, and the French forces, which were possest of the Towne.

The Earle Marshall Protector of the King and Kingdome, with his sonne, William, the Bishops Winchester, Salisbury and Chester, the Earles of Salisbury, Ferrers, and Albermarke, William de Albini, John Marshall, William de Cantelupe, Falsafle, Thomas Basset, Robert Veynton, Brent de Lisle, Geffrey Lucy, Philip de Albini, and many other Barons, and Marshall men, being with all the power of the young King, (whose forces as they marched, grew daily greater) come to a place called Stow within eight miles of Lincoln, the Legat Guallo to ad courage & resolution to the Army, caused upon confessio of their sins, the eucharist to be ministred & gives them a plenary absolution, solemnly accursing

The confessio-n
of the Vil-
count Melun
at his death.

Divers Lords
revolt from
Louys.

The forces of
Louys over-
thrown.

accusing Louys with all his adherents, as separated from the unity of the Church, which done, they set forth, and with such violence assayle the City on all sides, as the defendants (after the Earle of Perch, valiantly fightting, whereof these are nominated: Sac Earle of Winchester, Henry de Robyn, Earle of Hereford, Gilbert de Grant, lately made Earle of Lincoln by Louys, Robert Fitz Walter, Richard Monfichet, William Mowbray, William Beauchamp, William Mandit, Oliver Harcourt, Roger de Cressy, William de Colerville, William de Ros, Robert de Ropley, Ralph Chandrik Barons, besides 400 Knights or men at Armes, with their servants, horse and foot). The number and quality of the persons taken, shew the importance of the place, and the greatness of the Victory, which gave Louys his maine blow; and was the last of his battailes in England.

The spoyles were very great being of a City, at that time rich in Merchandise, whereupon the winners (in derision) termed it Louys his Fair. Many of those who escaped, and fled from this overthrow, were slaine by the Country people in their disorderly passing towards London unto Louys, who upon notice of this great defeat, sendes presently over for succour into France, and drawes all the power he had in England, to the City of London; whither the Earle Marshall with the young King bend their course, with purpose either to assaile Louys upon this fresh dismey of his losse, and the distraction of his partakers, or induce him by agreement to relinquish the Kingdome. The first being found difficult, the last is propounded, whereunto Louys would not be brought to yeeld, untill hearing how his succors comming out of France, where by Phillip de Albeny, and Hugh de Burgh, with the Forces of the Cinclie-ponts, all vanquished at Sea, he then hopelesse of any longer subsisting with safety, condescends to an accord: takes fiftene thousand Markes for his voyage, abjures his claime to the Kingdome: promises by Oath to worke his Father, as farre as in him lay, for the restitution of such Provinces in France, as appertained to this Crowne; and that when himselfe should be King, to resigne them in peaceable manner.

On the other part King Henry takes his Oath, and for him, the Legat, and the Protector, to restore unto the Barons of this Realme, and other his Subjects, all their rights and heritages, with those libertes for which the discord beganne betweene the late King and his people. Generall pardon is granted, & all prisoners freed on both sides: Louys is honorably attended to Dover, and departs out of England about Michaelmas: above two yeaeres after his first arrivall, having beene here, in the greatest part, received King, and was more likely to have established himselfe, and made a Conquest of this Kingdome (being thus pulled in by others armes) than the Norman that made way with his owne, had not the All-disposer otherwise diverted it.

Such effects wrought the violence of an unruly King, and the desperation of an oppressed people, which now notwithstanding the Fathers iniquity, most willingly imbrace the son, as naturally inclined to love, & obey their Princes. And in this recovery, the industry of Guallo the Legat wrought much, though what he did therein was for his owne ends, and the pretended interest of the Pope, whose ambition had beene first an especiall cause of this great combustion in the Kingdome, but as they who worke the greatest mischiefs, are oftentimes the men that can best repaire them, so was it in this, and therefore the lesse worthy of thankes. The Legat was well payed for his paines, and notwithstanding the great distresse of the Kingdome carries away twelve thousand Markes with him to Rome.

The spoyle of
Lincolne.

The peace
was conclu-
ded the xi. of
September.

1218.
*Anno
Reg. 3.*

1219.
*Anno
Reg. 4.*

But thus the longest afflicted State beganne to have some peace, and yet with many distempers at the first; ere those vitulent humours which the Warre had bred were otherwise diverted. For many of the Nobles who had taken part with the King, eyther unsatisfied in their expectations, or knowing not how to maintaine themselves and theirs, but by rapine; fall to mutiny, surprizing of Castles, and making spoyles in the Country, as the Earle of *Albemarle*, *Robert de Veypon*, *Foulke de Brent*, *Brian de Lisle*, *Hugh de Barlioll*, with many other; but at length, they are likewise appeased. And seeing the Warre must nurse, whom it had bred, an action is undertaken for the holy Land, whither *Ralph Earle of Chester*, *Sac. de Quincy Earle of Winchester*, *William de Albeny Earle of Arundell*, *Robert Fitz Walter*, *William de Harcourt*, with many others, are sent with great Forces: besides, to unburthen the Kingdome, all strangers, unlesse such as came with Merchandize, are commanded to avoyd the Land, and all meanes used for the regaining the ability it had lost.

The death of
the Protector
Earle Marshal.

And no sooner had this provident Protector the Earle of *Pembroke* settled the Kings affaires, but he dies, to the great regret of the Kingdome; leaving behind him a most Noble memory of his active worth, and is to be numbered amongst the examples of the best of men, to shew how much the wisedome and valour of a potent Subject may steede a distracted State in time of danger.

The King
againe
Crown'd.
1 Parliament.

The Bishop of *Winchester* (imparting the charge with many other great Councillors) is made Protector of the young King, who in *Anno Reg. 4.* is againe crowned, and the next yeare after, hath by Parliament granted for the Escuage two markes of silver of every Knights fee, for the affaires of the Kingdome, and recovery of his transmarine Dominions, which now is designed, and *Malcon de Sacy* the *Poitouian* with *William Longsword Earle of Salisbury*, sent over into *Guien* to try the affections of that people, whom they finde, for the most part inclinable to the obedience of this Crown. The King of *France* is required to make restitution of what he had usurped, but returns answer; That what he had gotten both by forfeiture, and Law of Armes, he would holde.

1220.
Anno
Reg. 5.

1221.
Anno
Reg. 6.

To retaine amity with *Scotland*, and peace at home, *Ioan*, the Kings sister is given in marriage to *Alexander King of Scots*, and *Margaret*, sister to the same King, to *Hnbert de Burgh*, now made Iusticiar of *England*, and the especiall man who guided the greatest affaires of the Kingdome. *Wales*, revolting under their Prince *Lewelin*, gave occasion of great charge and trouble to this State in the beginning of this Kings Reigne, and long after, till it was wholly subdued. And a commotion in *Ireland*, made by *Hugh Lacy*, is appeased by *William Earle of Pembroke*, sonne to the late great Marshall; and some few yeeres after hath the Kingdome a kind of quietnesse, saving that *Folsafus* (or *Foulke de Brent*) with certaine Chatelains (the dregs of War) fortifying the Castle of *Bedford*, with some other peeces of strength, and committing many outrages, gave occasion of busynesse tell they were gotten by hard assault.

But now the King being come to some yeares of understanding, was, in a Parliament holden at *London*, put in minde by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in behalfe of the State of his Oath made, and taken by others for him, upon the peace which *Louys* for confirmation of the liberties of the Kingdome, for which the War began with his Father, and being the maine base whereon his owne good, and that of his people must subsist, without which the whole State would againe fall asunder; they would have him to know it betime, to avoide

avide those miserable inconveniences, which the disunion of Rule and Obedience might bring upon them all, which though it were impiously there oppugned (as Princes shall ever finde mouths, to expresse their pleasures in what course soever they take) by some Ministers of his (amongst whom one *William Brewer* a Councillor is named) who urged it to have beene an Act of constraint, and therefore not to be performed; was, notwithstanding promised at that time by the King to be ratified, and twelve Knights, or other Legall men of every Shiere by Writs charged to examin, what were the Lawes and liberties which the Kingdome enjoyed under his Grandfather, and returne the same by a certaine day; and so by that usuall shift of Prolongation, the busynesse was put off for that time, to the greater vexation of that following. For during all his Reigne of six and fifty yeares (the longest of any King of *England*) this put him to the greatest imbroylement, made him ill beloved of his people (ever crost in his intendements) and far a lesse King, onely by striving to be more than he was: the just reward of violations. And even this first pause, upon the lawfull requisition thereof, turned the blood, and shewd how sensible the State was, in the least stoppage of that tender veine: For, presently the Earles of *Chester* and *Albemarle* with many other great men, assemble at *Leicester* with intent to remoove from the King *Hugh de Burgh* chiefe Iusticiar and other officers supposed to hinder this motion. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* by his spirituall power, and the rest of the Nobility, more carefull to preserue the peace of the Kingdome, stood to the King, and would not suffer any proceeding in this kind, so as the Lords effected nothing at that time, but were constrained to come in, and submit themselves. And here the King by Parliament resumes such alienations as had beeene made by his Ancestors, of what had appertained to the Crowne, whereby he might have the more meanes of his owne without pressing his Subjects; but this served not his turne.

Resumption.

The next yeare after another Parliament is held at *Westminster*, wherein is required the fiftieth part of all moveables both of the Clergy and Layety, for the recovery of those parts in *France* withheld from this Crown by *Louys* now King, contrary to his oath and promise made here in *England* at his departure. Which motion, though it concerned the honour and dignity of his Kingdome (being the inheritance of the King, and the estates of most of the Nobility, and other the subjects, who had Lands and possessions in those parts, which no doubt, they desired to recover with their utmost means), yet would they not yeeld to the grant of this Subsidy, but upon confirmation of their liberties; which in the end, they obtayned, in the same words and forme as King *John* had granted them in the two Charters before.

And twelve Knights, or Legall men are chosen in every shiere, upon their Oath, to disperte the old Forrests from the new: And all such as were found to have beeene inforrested since the first Coronation of *Henry the second* to be disafforested, and disposed at their pleasure, who were to possesse them. Whereupon they were layd open, plowed and improoved to the exceeding comfort, and benefit of the Subject, whereby men, in steede of wilde beasts, were sustayned, and more roome made for them to use their industry.

Disforestat-
ions.

Two yeares with great quietnesse, and generall content (the blessing of a State) these liberties were enjoyed, whenthe King at a Parliament at *Oxford*, declaring himselfe to be of lawfull age, and free from custody, to dispose of the Affaires of the Kingdome; cancels and annulsthe Charter of Forrests, as granted in his Nonage, having no power of himselfe, or of his Seale, and therefore of no validity: And causes Proclamation to be made, that both the Clergy,

1223.

Anno

Reg. 8.

3 Parliament

1225.

Anno

Reg. 10

4 Parliament.

Clergy, and all others, if they would enjoy those liberties, should renew their Charters, & have them confirmed under his new Scale: For which they were constrained to pay, not according to their ability, but the will of the chiefe Iusticiar, *Hugh de Burgh*, to whom is layd the blame of this mischiefe, which procured him the generall hatred of the Kingdome; and bred a new insurrection of the Nobility, who, taking advantage upon a breach lately faine out, betweene the King and his brother *Richard Earle of Cornwall* (about the Castle of *Barkamsted*, appertayning to that Earledome which the King had committed to the keeping of one *Walleran a Dutchman*) joyned with the Earle, and put themselves in Armes. For the King maintayning the cause of *Walleran*, commands his brother to render the Castle which he had taken from him; or else to depart the Kingdome.

The Earle answers that he would neither doe the one or the other: without the judgement of his Peeres; and so departs to his lodging, leaving the King much displeased with this answer. The chiefe Iusticiar fearing the disturbance of the peace, advises the King suddenly to apprehend the Earle, and commit him to close custody; but the Earle eyther through notice, or doubt thereof, flies prestently to *Marleborough*, where he findes *William Earle Marshall*, his friend, and confederate by Oath, with whom he hastes to *Stamford*, and there meets with the Earles of *Chester*, *Glocester*, *Warren*, *Hereford*, *Ferrers*, *Warwicke*, with divers Barons, and men at armes: From whence they send to the King, advising him to right the injury done to his brother. The cause heereof, they impute to *Hugh de Burgh*, and not to himselfe: besides, they require restitution to be made without delay, of the liberties of the Forrests lately cancelled at *Oxford*, otherwise they would compell him thereunto by the sword.

The King, to avoyde this danger, appoints them a day to come to an Assembly at *Northampton*, where a concord is concluded; & to satisfie his brother, (besides the rendring unto him his Castle) he grants him all that his mother had in *Dowre*, and whatsoever Land the Earle of *Brittaine* held in *England*, with those of the Earle of *Bologne* lately deceased, and so the Parliament brake up. After this the generall motion for the holy Wars intertaines some time. Which so strongly wrought in that credulous world, as sixty thousand sufficient men, are reported to have undertaken that Voyage: of whom *Peter Bishop of Winchester*, and *William Bishop of Excester*, are the Leaders.

The King is solicited by *Hugh le Brun Earle of March*, who had married his Mother, and by other great men of *Normandy*, to come over into *France* to recover his right, upon the great alterations happing in those parts by this occasion.

Louys the eighth (who succeeded *Phillip the second*) being lately dead, after his great siege of *Aigillon*, and his Warres made against the Heretickes *Albigois* in *Provence*, leaves the Kingdome to his Sonne *Louis* of the age of twelve yeares, in whose minority his Mother *Blanch*, taking upon her the Regency, so discontented the Princes of the blood, as they oppose themselves against her, holding it both dishonorable and dangerous, that a woman and a stranor, by the counsell of *Spaniards* (whom she advanced above the Naturals of the Kingdome) should governe all according to her pleasure, and therefore enter league against her. The chiefe of whom were *Phillip Earle of Bologne*, Uncle by the Father, to the King: *Robert Earle of Champagne*, *Peter de Dreux* Duke of *Brittaine*, and *Robert Earle of Dreux* his brother, and with these *Hugh the Earle of March* takes part, in regard the Queenes regent had

The revoking
the Charters
of Forrests
which bred a
new insur-
rection.122.6.
Anno
Reg. 11,
5 Parliament.122.7.
Anno
Reg. 12.

French History.

had erected the Country of *Poitou* to a County, and made Earle thereof *Alphonso* her Sonne, brother to the young King, whereby finding himselfe inclosed within that County, he refuseth to acknowledg *Alphonso* for Lord: instigated thereto by his wife, a Queen Dowager of *England*, who could not comport a Superior to neare her doore, insomuch as they likewise draw in the Earle of *Lassignan*, brother to the Earle of *March*, who also presuming upon the greatness of his house descended of Kings, was apt to take their part; and these with the Earle of *Brittaine* eall in the King of *England*. Who after he had exacted great summes of the Clergy, of the City of *London*, for redemption of their liberties, and taken the third part of all the goods of the Iewes, passes over with an Army, lands at *S. Mallos*, is met by many Nobles of *Poitou*, who with the Earle of *Brittaine* doe homage unto him; and great preparations are made to recover such peeces as had beene obtained by the late King of *France*.

The Queen Regent sets out a powerfull Army to stop the proceeding of the King of *England*, and much mischiefe is wrought on both sides in *Poitou*, *Xaintonge*, *Augoumois*, whete their friends and enemis suffer all alike. At length, seeing no great good to arise by their trayaile, both weary of the baines, eyther a peace, or truce is concluded.

The King of *England* besides an infinite expence of Treasure, having lost divers of his Nobles and other Valiant men in the journy, without any glory returns home, bringing with him the Earle of *Brittaine*, and many *Poitouians* to receive their promised reward, which notwithstanding all the former expence must be wtung out of the substance of the poore Subjects of *England*.

Vpon his returne, he entertaines a purpose of marriage with a sister of the King of *scots*, against which, the Earles and Barons of *England* generally oppose; alledging it to be unfit that he should have the younger sister, when *Hubert* his chiefe Iusticiar, had married the eldest; and the Earle of *Brittaine*, by whose counsell he was now much directed, dissuades him likewise from it. To this Earle (after supplies obtained towards his expences, and debts in *France*) he gives five thousand markes, as if remaining of the summe he had promised. And for the rest of the *Poitouians*, their preferrments and rewards were to be had by the displacing and spoyles of his Officers, Receivers and others, whom now he calls to account, and casts for disswading him in their Offices, of whom *Ralph Breton* Treasurer of his Chamber is first, who was committed to prison and grievously fined: Then *Hubert de Burgh* his chiefe Iusticiar, (a man who had long ruled all under him, in a place ever obnoxious to detraction and envy) is called to account for such Treasure as passed his Office (which was then for all relieves, and subsidies, whatsoever raised on the subject) and notwithstanding he had the Kings Charter for it during life, yet is he thrust out of his Office, and besides accused of hayuous crimes of Treason.

No sooner was this great Officer, and inward Counsellour faine into the Kings displeasure, but presently a whole volly of accusations (which seare in time of favour held in) were discharged upon him, and every act of his examined, and urged according to the passion of the complainers. The City of *London* layes to his charge the execution of their Citizen *Constantine* (in the time of a ryot committed betweene their people and those of *Westminster* at a wraſtling in *Saint James fields*, *Anno Reg. 4.*) as done without Warrant and Law, and crave Iustice for his blood. *Hubert*, to avoide this suddaine storme comming upon him, fled to the Church of *Merton* for Sanctuary, whence, by armed

The King
calls his
Officers to ac-
count.122.8.
Anno
Reg. 13.

The Life and Reigne of Henry the third.

The King removes his officers.

armed men sent to pursue him, he is drawne out by force, and committed to prison. Of which violence done contrary to the priviledge of that sacred place, the Bishop of London, in whose Dioces it was, complaines, and so wrought that he is brought backe againe to the same Chappell. But yet all that could not shelter him from the Kings wrath, who gives strict commandement to the Shrieves of Hartford and Suffex, to set a guard about the place, that no sustenance be brought him. Hunger inforses him to commit himselfe to the Kings mercy, and away he is sent prisoner to the Vixes, his mony left in the custody of the Templars, is brought forth, & seazed into the Kings hands; clayming that, and much more as stolac out of his Exchequer. Stephen de Segravent is put into his Office, a worse minister for the Common-wealth (which seldome gaines by such shiftings) and who must shortly runne the same Fortune. Walter Bishop of Carlile is likewise thrust out of his Office of Treasurer, and William Rodon Knight, of his place of Marshall of the Kings house; and all the chiefe Counsellours, Bishops, Earles and Barons of the Kingdome, are removed as distrusted, and onely strangers preferred to their roomes. Peter Bishop of Winchester, lately returned from the holy Wars, to be the Author of most unholy discord at home, is charged to be the cause hereof, and with him one Peter de Rivalis, now the especiall minion about the King.

These straines of so strange and insufferable violences so exasperate the Nobility, as many (whereof Richard, now Earle Marshall, upon the death of his brother William was chiefe) do combine themselves for defence of the publike, and boldly doe shew the King his error, and ill advised course in suffering strangers about him, to the disgrace and oppression of his naturall liege people, contrary to their Lawes and liberties, and that unles he would reforme this excesse, whereby his Crowne and Kingdome was in eminent danger, he and the rest of the Nobility would withdraw themselves from his Counseil; whereunto the Bishop of Winchester replies: that it was lawfull for the King to call what strangers he listed about him, for defence of his Crowne and Kingdome, thereby to compell his proud and rebellious subjects to their owne due obediance. With which answer the Earle and the rest depart with more indignation: vowing that in this cause, which concerned them all, they would spend their lives.

The Lords combine for the publike defence against the king.

The Lords refuse to come to Parliament upon summons.

Hereupon the King suddenly sends over for whole legions of Poictivians, and withall summons a Parliament at Oxford, whither the Lords refuse to come, both in regard they found themselves despised, and holding it not safe by reason of those multitudes of strangers. Then was it decreed by the Kings Councell that they should be the second and third time summoned, to try whether they would come or not. And here, from the Pulpit, whence the Voyce of God to the people is uttered, the King is boldly shewed the way to redresse this mischiefe of the Kingdome, by one Robert Bacon a Fryer Preident; but more Comically by Roger Bacon, (in pleasant discourse) asking the King: *My Lord, what is most nocent to Sea-men, and what feare they most?* the King replies: Sea-men know that best themselves; then, my Lord I will tell you: *Petra & Rupes*, alledging to Petrus de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester.

After this, the Lords were summoned to a Parliament at Westminster: Whither likewise they refused to come, unlesse the King would remove the Bishop of Winchester, and the Poictivians from the Court: otherwise, by the Common Councell of the Kingdome they send him expresse word, they would expell him, and his evill Counsellors out of the Land, and deale for the Creation of a new King.

Vpon this threatening, pledges are required of the Nobility to be delivered by a certayne day, for security of their alleagiance. But no act passed in this Parlia-

The Life and Reigne of Henry the third.

Parliament though divers Lords came thither, as the Earles of Cornwall, Chester, Lincolne, Ferrers and others. In regard the Earle Mareshall, the Lord Gilbert Bassett, and other Nobles were not present. Then were Writs sent out to all who held by Knights service, to reape to the King at Gloucester by a certayne day: which the Earle Mareshall and his associates refusing, the King without the judgment of his Court and their Peeres, causes to be proclaimed Outlawes, seizes upon all their Lands, which he gives to his Poictivians, and directs out Writs to attach their bodies wherefover in the Kingdome.

The Bishop of Winchester to weaken the party of the Mareshall, wonne the Earles of Chester and Lincolne with a thousand markes, and the King had so pleased, his brother the Earle of Cornwall, as he likewise left them. Whereupon they withdrew them into Wales, and confederate with Lewelin and other great men in that country, (whither also came Hubert de Burgh, escaping out of the Vixes Castle, and joynes with them taking their oath intermanually, that no one without other should make their accord.)

The King goes himselfe in person with an Army, against those revolted Lords, into Wales, where he had the worst of the busynesse, and much disfavour, returnes to Gloucester, employes new forces of strangers, but all without successe. Whereupon a Fryer of the order of Minors is imploied to conserue with the Earle Mareshall, and to perswade him to come in, and submit himselfe to the Kings mercy, whom he had heard to say notwithstanding his great offences, he would pardon, and restore to his estate upon subission, and besides give him so much of Hereford shire, as shold conveniently remaine, taing him. Besides, the Fryer told him that he heard other Counsellours about the King, concerning the wilfulling of his subission, and in what forme they desired it should be imparted in privat. And then, as of himselfe, hee uses all inducements possible to draw him thersunto, shewing how it was his duty, his profit and safety so to doe. Wherewithall the Earle nothing moveth, told the Fryer what injury he had received, and that he could not rest the King so long as he had such Counsellours about him; who onely sought the destruction of him, and his associatgs, who ever had haene his loiall subjects. And after many objections made by the Fryer with urging the Kings power, his owne weakenesse and the danger he was in: the Earle concludes that he feared no danger: that he would never yeeld to the Kings will, that was guid by no reason: that he should give an ill example to relinquish the justnes of his cause to obey that will, which wrought all injustice, whereby it might appear, they loyed worldly possessions more than right, and honour, &c.

So nothing was done, the War continues with much effusion of blood; all the borders of Wales unto Shrewsbury, are miserably wasted, and made desolate. At length meanes is used to draw the Earle Mareshall over into Shropshire to defend his state there, which was likewise seized upon, by authority given under the Kings hand and Seal, and all those great possessions and seruants of that country spoyled and taken from him. And here, seeking to redresse his livelyhood he lost his life, circumvented by treachery; his death gave occasion of greate borth to his friends and enemies. The King disavowes the sending of his commission into Ireland, protesting he never knew the said discharge himselfe upon his Counsellours. A poore shift of weake Princes.

After two yeares affliction, a Parliament is assembled at Westminster, where in the Bishops gravely admonish the King (by his Fathers example, and his owne experiance, of the mischiefe of dissencion betwixen him and his Kingdome,

The King with an army against the Lords.

1233.
Anno
Reg. 19
Parliament.

1234.
Anno
Reg. 19
Parliament.

dome, occasioned through the ill counsell of his Ministers, to be at variance with his people, to remove from him strangers and others, by whole mitigation, for their owne ends, these disturbances are fostered, and his naturall subjects estranged from him, to the great alienation of their affections, which was of dangerous consequence. Wherefore (after recitall of the greevances of the State, and the abusis of his Ministers, which were such as all corrupted times produce) they humbly besought him to governe his, according to the example of other kingdomes, by the natives of the lande, and their laws: Otherwise they would proceede by Ecclesiasticall censure; both againt his Counsellours and himselfe.

The King seeing no way to subsist and get to his ends, but by temporizing, consents to call home thele Lords out of Wales, restores them to their places and possessions, amoves those strangers from about him, and calls his new Officers to account. The Bishop of Winchester, Peter de Rivallis and Stephen Segrave thereupon take Sanctuary, but afterward, upon mediation they obtained with great fines, their liberty, dearely paying for their two yeares cimencie and grace.

Things thus appeased, the King gives his sister Isabel in marriage to the Emperour Frederick the second (successor to Otho, and gransd childe to Frederick Barbarossa:) the Archbisshop of Cologne, and the Duke of Lorraine were sent for her. Shee is conducted by the King her brother to Sandwich with three thousand horse. The marriage is solemnized at Wormes. Shee was the third wife of this Emperour, an alliance that yelded neither strength nor benefit (though that were both their ends) to either Prince. The continual broyle which this Emperour held with all the Popes of his time, (Urban the third, Honorius, Innocent the fourth, Gregory the ninth) was such and so great, as all he could doe, was not enough for himselfe. For, not to let goe that honore of the Empire he had in Italy, with his hereditary kingdomes of Naples and Sicile which the Popes wrought to draw to the Church, he was puse to be perpetually in confise, never free from vexations, thrust from his owne courses, enjoyned to undertake the Holy Warres, to waste him abroad, weakened at home by excommunications, & other for absolutions, for which at one time he paid eleven thousand Markes of Gold. And in the end the Pope so prevailed, that in the graye of this Frederick was buried the Imperial Authority in Italy, after he had thus reigned fourte and thirty years, leaving his sonne Conrade successor rather of his natiuitie, than his inheritance. He had a sonne by Isabel named Henry, to whom he bequeathed the kingdome of Sicile, and a hundred thousand ounces of gold, but he lived not to enjoy it.

To the marriage of this sister, the King gives thysy thousand Markes, besides an Imperiall Crowne and other Ornamentes of great value: Towards which is rayled two Markes upon every Hide Land. And the next yere after, himselfe marries Blanche daughter to Ramond Earle of Provence, a match, in regard of the distance of the place, with the meanes and the grece of estate, little advantagious either to him or his Kingdome, but the circumstance of alliance drew it on, with some other promises which were not observed. So that he is neither greater, nor richer by these Markes, but hath lessened in his meanes, having no dowry with his wife full of poore landes that must draw meanes from this kingdome.

After the solemnization of this mariage (which was extraordinarily sumptuous) a Parliament is assembled at London, which the King wold have held the Towne, whither the Lords refusing to come, another place of more

Isabel the kings
sister married
to the Empe-
rour.

1230.
Anno
Reg. 20

more freedome, is appointed: where, after many things propounded for the good of the Kingdome, order is taken that all Shrieves are remooved from their Offices upon complaint of corruption; and others of more integrity, and abler meanes (to avoyde bribery) put in their roomes, taking their oathes to receive no gifts, but in victualls, and those without excesse.

Heere the King displaces his Steward, and some other Counsellors, and offers to take from the Bishop of Chichester, then Chancellour, the great Seale; but the Bishop refuseth to deliver it, alledging, how he had it by the Common Councell of the Kingdome, and without assent of the same, would not resigne it, and having carryed himselfe irreprehensible in his Office, is much favoured by the people. Peter de Rivallis and Stephen Segrave, are againe received into grace: An argument of the Kings levity, and irresolution, mooved, it seemes, with any Engine to doe and undoe, and all out of time and order, wherein he ever looses ground. And now faine would he have revoked, by the Popes authority, some grants of his made heretofore, as being done beyond his power, and without the consent of the Church, which harsh intention addes more to the already conceived displeasure of the people.

Anno Reg. 21. Another Parliament, of the same adjourned is held at London, where, in regard of the great expence for his Sisters marriage, and his owne, he requires the thirtieth part of all mooveables, as well of the Clergy as Layety. Whereunto great opposition is made, and recitall of the many Levies had beeene exacted of the Kingdome, now of the twentieth, now of the thirtieth, and fortieth parts: And that it was a thing unworthy and injurious, to permit a King, who was so lightly seduceable, and never did good to the Kingdome, eyther in expelling, or repressing enemie, or amplifying the bounds thereof, but rather lessening and subjugating the same to strangers, that he should extort by so many pretences, so great summes from his naturall people (as from slaves of the basest condition) to their detriment, and benefit of Aliens. Which when the King heard, desirous to stop this greate murmur, promised by Oath that he would never more injury the Nobles of the Kingdome, so that they would benignely relieve him at that present, with this supply: in regard he had exhausted his treasure, in the marriage of his sister, and his owne: whereunto they plainly answer, that the same was done without their counsell, neyther ought they to be partakers of the punishment, who were free from the fault: After fourte daies consultation, the King promising to use onely the Counsell of his naturall Subjects, disavowing and protesting against the revocation lately propounded and freely granting the inviolable observation of the Liberties, under paine of excommunication, hath yelded unto him the thirtieth part of all mooveables (reserving yet to every man his ready coyne, horse and armour to be employed for the Commonwealth.) For the collection of this subsidy, it was ordained that fourte Knights of every Shiere, and one Clerke of the Kings should upon their Oath receive and deliver the same, eyther unto some Abbay or Castle, to be reserved there; that if the King fayle in performance of his Grants, it might be restored to the Courtney whence it was collected: with this condition often annexed, that the King should leave the Counsell of Aliens, and onely use that of his naturall Subjects. Wherein to make sliue of his part, hee suddenly causes the Earles Warren and Ferrers, with John Fitz Geffrey to be sworne his Counsellors. And so the Parliament ended, but not the busynesse for which it was called, the King not giving that satisfaciō to his subjects as he had promised concerning strangers; and besides, that order concluded in Parliament was not observed.

Shrieves re-
mooved for
corruption.

9 Parliament.
1237.
Anno
Reg. 21

Fourte knights
of every shiere
ordained to
take charge of
the subsidy.

The coming of Simon Montfort to England.

The grievances of the Kingdome.

1238

Anno
Reg. 22
10. Parlia-
ment.

1239.
Anno
Reg. 23

observed in the leaving and disposing of the subsidy, but stricter courses taken in the valewing of mens estates, than was held convenient. Moreover *William Valentine* Uncle to the young Queen, is growne onely the inward man with the King, and possessest him so, as nothing is done without his Counsell: the Earle of *Provence*, the father; a poore Prince, is invited to come overto participate of this Treasure, which seemes was disposed before it came in. *Simon de Montfort* a French man borne (banished out of France by Queen *Blanch*) is entertained in *England*, and presented secretly in marriage to *Elisener* the Kings Sister (widow of *William Earle of Pembroke* Great Marshall) and made Earle of *Leicester* by right of his mother *Amice*, daughter of *Blanchman* Earle of *Leicester*. Which courses (with other) so incense the Nobility, and generally all the Subjects, as put them out into a new commotion, and *Richard* the Kings brother (whose youth and ambition apt to be wrought upon,) is made the head thereof; who being as yet Heire apparent of the Kingdome (the Queen being young and child-lesse) the preservation of the good thereof, is argued to concerne him, and he is the man employed to the King, to impart the publike grievances, and to reprehend, first the profusion of his Treasure (gotten by exaction from the subject) and cast away upon Strangers who onely guide him; then the infinite summes he had rayled in his time: How there was no Archbischopricke, or Bishoprick, except *Yorke*, *Lincoln* and *Bathe*, but he had made benefit by their Vacancies: besides what fell by Abbayes, Earledomes, Baronies, Wardships and other Escheats; and yet his treasure, which shoulde be the strength of the State, was nothing increased. Moreover, how he as if both despising his, and the Counsell of his naturall Subjects, was so obsequious to the will the Romans, and especially of the Legat whom he had inconsiderately called in, as he seemed to adore his foote-steps; and would doe nothing eyther in publike or private, but by his consent, so that he seemed absolutely the Popes Feudary, which wounded the hearts of his people. The King upon this harsh remonstrance of his brother, and the feare of a present commotion, after he had founded the affectors of the *Londoners*, whom he found resolved to take part against him, hee againe (by the advice of the Legat, who had earnestly dealt with the Earle of *Cornwall*, to reconcile himselfe to his brother, but without effect) calls a Parliament at *London*. Whither the Lords came armed both for their owne safety, and to constraine the King (if he refused) to the observation of the premises, and reformation of his courses.

Here, after many debatements the King (taking his Oath) to referre the businesse to the order of certaine grave men of the Kingdome, Articles are drawne, sealed and publickly set up to the view of all, with the seals of the Legat, and divers great men. But before it came to effect, *Simon Montfort* working his peace with the Earle of *Cornwall*, and the Earle of *Lincolne* likewise (with whom he and the State were displeased) the Earle growes cold in the businesse. The Lords perceiving the stiffe of their strength to fail them, failed themselves, so that nothing is effected, and the miseries of the Kingdome continue as they did.

Shortly after, the King takes displeasure against *Gilbert Earle of Pembroke* (the third sonne of *William the Great Marshall*) and caused his gates to bee shut against him at *Winchester*, whereupon the Earle retires into the North. And to shew how inconstant this King was in his favours, *Simon Norman* (intituled Master of the Kings Seale, and not onely so, but sayd to be Master of the Kingdome; yea of the King, the Rector and Disposer of Court) is throwne out with disgrace, the Seale taken from him, and given to

the

the Abbor of *Evesham*. In like sort, his brother *Geffery a Kylght Templar* is pluckt out of the Councell, both of them much maligned by the Nobility: who had often before laboured their amouement, as held to be corrupt councellours, and Wranglers of the State, and now are they falle off themselves. But the cause of this their dejection may shew, that oftentimes Officers under weake Princes are not so much faulty, as the World holds them to be; for not yeelding to passe a Grant from the King, made unto *Thomas Earle of Flanders* (the Queens Uncle) of fourte pence upon every sacke of Wool (an enormous as then accounted) they both lost their places, though not their reputations in this; their fall discovering what the envy, that attended their Fortune, hindered men to see: To this Earle of *Flanders*, the next yere after the King grants (notwithstanding) 300. Markes (to be payd out of his Exchequer annually, for his homage).

Now, besides the great exaction of the King, and his wastes: The Sea of Romexorts huge Summes, as if one Gulph sufficed not to swallow up the substance of the Kingdome, which opened the mothes of our Clergy so wide; as they let but many exclamations against the avarice of the Popes of that time: And the Romaine Factors, who by permission of the King, or by his negligence, presumed so farre upon the easie-yeeldingnesse of the State, as they wrung out what they listed. In so much, as besides the Fleece, they would now have the bodies of their possessions. And the Pope sends his Mandate to haye three hundred Romaines preferred to the benefices, which should be first vacant in *England*; which so amazed the Clergy, and especially *Edmond Arch. of Canterbury*, as he, seeing no end of these Concussions of the State, and Liberties of the Church, and himselfe (on whom the Scandal of all must light, unable by reason of the Kings remissenesse to withstand it, tyred with the vanity of worldly actions) gives over all, and betakes himselfe to a voluntary exile in the Abbey of *Pontiniac* in *France*; and there applies him to the Contemplation of a better life. But before his departure, he yeelds, as a ransome for his Church, eight hundred Markes to the Pope.

The Clergy, although thus left by their head, generally oppose what they could against the Popes rapine, who to get mony for his Wars with the Emperor, used daily new and insolent pressures upon them, in so much as they repaire to the King, declare how prejudicall and derogatory it was to his roialty, and the liberty of the Kingdome to suffer this proceeding, which none of his Predecessors heretofore ever did; And of how dangerous consequence it was to his successors. The King, eyther not apprehensive of the mischiefe, or content to joyne with the Pope to punish and awe the Kingdome, not onely refers them to the Legat, but offers to deliver the chiefe opposers up unto him. Whereupon they seeing themselves forsaken, and no power to succour them but their owne, did what they could to withstand the Legats proceeding, who now by the Kings animation, presumes more peremptorily to urge them to supply the Popes present occasion, and holds a convocation at *London* for effecting the same. Wherein the Clergy declare how this contribution now required by the Pope for the destruction of the Emperor, and effusion of Christian blood, was unlawfull, he being not an Hereticke, nor condemned by the judgement of the Church although excommunicated: That it was against the Liberties of the Church of *England*, being required under paine of Ecclesiastical censure, as a thing of servitude and compulsion: That they had heretofore given a Tenth to the Pope, on condition, that never any such exaction should againe be made, least it might be drawne to a Custome, for as much as *Binus ab aliis indicat confuetudinem*.

P 2

Thomas of Savoy marrieth the infanteix of the Earldome of *Flanders*, which he held but during her life.

Edmond Arch. of Canterbury gives over his See.

Pope *Gregory the ninth*.

That

Parliament. That as their function was publike, so should also be their election.
But whiles these things were in debating, the enemy of mankind and disturber of peace, the Divell, (saith Mat. Par.) hindring the proceeding, by the comming of Martin a new Legate sent from the Pope, with a larger power than ever any before, to exact upon the State; which hee supposed now to have beeene so wrought, and ready, as the Kings turne being serv'd, his likewise should bee presently supplyed. But making too much haste before the first had passage, hee frustrates his owne desite, and receives a most peremptory repulse of the whole Kingdome, in so much as his Agent was disgracefully returned home, with this displeasing message. That the Kingdome was poore: had great Warres, the Church in debt, not able to yeeld any more. Besid's, this course was of dangerous consequence to this State, which alone seemed exposed to the Popes will, and therefore seeing a generall Counsell was shortly to be held at Lyons, if the Church would be reliued, it were fit the same should be done by a generall consent in that Counsell.

The Emperour Fredericks letters to the king.

Besides, at this time the Emperour Fredericke, by his Letters which were openly read in this Assembly, first intreats, as before he had oftentimes done, that the Pope might have no supplies out of England, which (he said) were onely required to rece. ue him, whom contrary to all Piety and Justice he had oppressed, by seizing upon his Cities and Castles, appertaining to the Empire. And for many yeares (notwithstanding his often submission and desire of peace) proceeded in all soule a. d. Hostile manner against him, both by the sword, and unjust excommunications. And seeing he could obtaine no due hearing, he had referred his cause to bee arbitrated by the Kings of England and France, and the Baronage of both Kingdomes. And therfore desirous he might not receive detriment, whence he expected favour, as a brother and friend. Adding in the end, that if if the King would be adv. sed by him, he would by power free this Kingdome from that unjust tribute which Innocentius the third, and other Popes had layd upon it. These letters pleased the Assembly and animated them the rather to deny the Popes Mandate.

The interposition of this businesse tooke up so much time, as nothing else was done in this Parliament, onely they granted an ayde to the King, for the marriage of his daughter, twenty shillings of every Knights fee, and that with much adoe and repetition of all his former aydes.

After this, upon a light occasion, the King undertakes an expedition of great charge against Alexander King of Scots, for which every Baron which held in Capite, Spirituall and Lay, were commanded to bee ready with all Military provision due for that service. Whereunto, likewise repaires Thomas Earle of Flanders with three score Knights, and a hundred other servants (thirsting for the Kings mony) whose unnecessary comming was ill taken by the Barons of England, as if the strength of the Kingdome without him, were not sufficient for that action, which was as suddenly ended as undertaken, by a faire conclusion of Peace with King Alexander, a Prince highly commended for his vertues, by the Writers of that time.

Another eti. vance of the Barons.

13 Parliament

Vpon this returne, againe that Winter he assemblies another Parliament, wherein he mboves for an ayde, upon a desite he had for Wales, and to supply his wants, and pay his debts, which were urg'd to be so great, as he could not appeare out of his Chamber for the infinite clamor of such to whom he owed for his Wine, Wax, and other necessaries of House. But they all to his face, with one Voyce, refused to graff him any thing. Whereupon oþer violent courses are taken. An ancient quarrell is found out against the City of London, for which they are commanded to pay fifteene thousand Markes.

And

And Passeleve the Kings Clerke is employed with others in a most peremptory Commission, to inquire of all such Lands, as had beeene inforrested, and either to fine the Occupiers thereof, at their pleasure, or take it from them, and sell the same to others. Wherein such rigor was used, as multitudes of people were undone. So unsafe are private mens estates, where Princes fall into great wants. Passeleve for his good service in this businesse should have beeene preferred to the Bishopricke of Chichester, but the Bishops withstood the King herein. Now, in regard to shew the King the estate of his Kingdome, and the oppression of Popes; Inquiry was made of the revenues which the Romans and Italians had in England, which was found to be annually sixty thousand Markes, being more than the yearlye revenues of the Crowne of England: which so mooved the King, as he caused the same to be notisid, with all other exactions, by his procurators to the generall Councell now assembled at Lyons, which (with the ill usage of Martin) so vexed the Pope, as he is sayd to have uttered these words: It is fit that we make an end with the Emperour, that we may crush these petty Kings, for the Dragon once appeased or destroyed, these lesser snakes will soone be troden downe. Which impious speecche proceeding from such a mouth, whence the Oracles of peace and charity ought to be uttered, was as ill taken, bred great scandall, and gave warning to Princes of prevention; who, though they maligned the corruptions of the Court of Rome, they were yet ever at one with the Church.

And the Clergy of England were most forward, to vindicate the State from that miserable oppression which of late by degrees they were drawne unto, through the humility of their zeale: For, such is the nature of Domination, wheresoever it sits, that finding an yeeldingnesse to endure, it never thinkes it hath power sufficient, unlesse it hath more than enough: For, if the Popes (the professed soveraignes of piety) upon the advantage of mens zeale, and beleefe, grew to make their will, and their power equall (so that to question their sanctions was taught to be sinne against the Holy Ghost) no man, vaille if secular Princes, whose consciences are untyed, strive to break out into the wildnesse of their wills from those bounds wherein by the law of the State they are placed.

But upon the Popes rejecting the consideration of these grievances of England (which were particularly delivered in this counsell at Lyons) and despising the Kings message (who, he sayd, began to Frederize) it was absolutely here ordained, under g. eat penalty, that no contribution of mony should be given to the Pope by any subject of England; and the King, for a tyme, batties against the Forraine exactions, in such sort as it gave some hope of redresse. But being of an irresolute, and wavering nature, and afeard of threats, soone woman-like gives over what he manfully undertooke: so that the Pope continues his former rapine, though having by the continual exclamations of the Clergy, beeene brought to promise never to send any more Legats into England, yet employes he other ministers, under the titles of Clerkes, who had the same power, as had his former Agents, and effected underhand his desires.

Now the other part of the State have new occasions of complaint offered: Peter of Savoy Earle of Richmond brings over certaine maides to be married to young Noble men of England the Kings Wards, of which Edmond Earle of Lincoln hath one, and Richard de Burgh another. And the same yeaere three of the Kings brothers by the mother, Guy de Lusignan, William de Valence, and Athelmar Clerke, are sent for over to be provided of estates in England. Thomas of Savoy (sometimes Earle of Flanders by right of his wife) comes with his

An inquiry about Lands inforrested, which bred great grievances.

An inquiry of the Popes revenue in England.

1245.
Anno Reg. 29

1246.
Anno Reg. 30

1247.
Anno Reg. 31

1248.

Anno

Reg. 32

14 Parlia-

ment.
That he tooke
from his sub-
jects, quic
quid habue-
runt in eisdem
Ruficorum
etiam Equos,
Bigas, Vina,
Vitulam ad li-
bitum capit.
Rishanger.

his sister Beatrix Countesse of Provence the Queenes Mother: and they are againe feasted and gifted: For which the King is taxed in the next Parliament convoked in London in Candlemas Terme; and besides sharply reprehended For his breach of promise (upon his requiring of another ayde) having vowed and declared (upon his last supply) by his Charter, never more to injury the State in that kind. Besides they blamed him for his violent taking up of provisions for dyet, Wax, Silkes, Robes, &c. and especially for wine, contrary to the will of the sellers, whereby Merchants both of this, and other Kingdome withdraw their commodities, in so much as all traffique and commerce utterly cease, to the detriment and infamy of the Kingdome. That his judges were sent in circuit under pretext of justice to fleece the people. That Robert de Lasseleve had wrung from the borders of Forrests, for incroachments or assarts, great summes of mony, and therefore they wonder he should now demand relief fro the impoverished commons, and avertis him since his needless expences (postquam Regni cœpit esse dilapidator) amounted to be above 800. thousand pounds) that he should pull from his favourites enriched with this Treasure of the Kingdome, and revoke the old Lands of the Crown.

Then they reproove him for keeping vacant in his hands Bishopricks and Abbeycs, contrary to the liberties of the Church and his oath made at his Coronation. Lastly, they all generally complaine for that the chiefe Iusticiar, Chancellor and Treasurer, were not made by the common Councell of the Kingdome, according as they were in the time of his Magnificent Predecessors, and as it was fit and expedient; but such advanced, as followed his will, in whatsoever tended to his gaine, and sought not promotion for the good of the Kingdome, but their owne.

The King patiently indures this reprehension, in hope to obtaine his desire, and gives them promise of redresse, but nothing is effected; after many meetings and much debate the Parliament is proroged till Midsommer following, during which time, they would with Patience expect how the King would bear himselfe towards them, that accordingly they might obey, and satisfie his desire.

But this delay wrought no good, the King through ill Counsell growes more obdurate, and harsh to his people, in so much as at the next Session he makes his speech: Would you curbe the King your Lord, at your uncurvill pleasure, and impose a servile condition upon him? will you deny unto him what every one of you, as you list, may doe? It is lawfull for every one of you to use what counsell he wll, and every master of a Family to preferre to any effice in his house whom he pleases, and d spacie againe when he list, and wll you rashly deny your Lord and King to doe the like? Whereas servants ought not to judge their master, and Subjects ther Prince, or hold them to their conditons. For the servant is not above his Lord nor the Disciple above his Master. Neither should he be your King, but as your servants whc should incline to your pleasures: wherefore hee will neither remove the chiefe Iusticiar, Chancellor, nor Treasurer, according to their motion. In like manner finds he answers to the rest of their Articles, and for the ayde he required, it concern'd (he saith) their Rights as well as his. And so the Parliament brake up in discontent.

The King is advised to furnish his wants with the sale of his Plate and Jewels of the Crown, being told that as all Rivers have reflux to the sea, so all these things though sold and dispersed, would revert againe unto him, and therefore it should not moove him; and having with great losse received mony for this ware, he inquires who had bought it, answer was made, the City of London that City, said he, is an unexchanstible Gulph: if Octavius treasure were to be

The Kings
speech in
Parliament.Clars. Anno
48 and 49.
Henry 3.
Beginning
first with sale
of Land,

he sold they would surely buy it, and there withall inveigles against the City, which had so often served his turne; and divises all meane to vex the same, causing shortly after a new Faire to be kept at Westminster, forbidding under great penality all exercise of Merchandise within London for fifteene dayes, and all other Faires in England, and namely that of Ely. This novelty came to nothing, the inconvenience of the place, as it was then, and the foulenesse of the weather brought more affliction than benefit to the Bradfords.

That Christmas also (without respect of royall magnificencie) he requires new yeates gifts of the Londoners, and shortly after writes unto them his letters imperiously deprecatory, to ayde him with money, which, with much grudging they doe, to the summe of 20000. pounds, for which, the next yeare after hee craves pardon of the City, sending for them to Westminster Hall. And notwithstanding his continual taking up all provisions for his house, he so much lessens his hospitality, (introducing, say they, the Romane custome of dyet) as was held very dishonourable, and unusuall to the English Magnificence of Court.

Then, where he could obtaine nothing of the States together, he calls unto him, or writes to every Noble man apart, declaring his poverty, and how he was bound by Charter in a debt of 30. thousand pounds to those of Bp. de Luxembourg, and the Gascoignes, (who otherwise would not suffer him to depart home) at his last being in France; notwithstanding he requires nothing but of favour, which where he found, he would returne with the like. And sayling likewise herein, he addresses his letters to the Prelates, where he finds as little relife. By much importunity, and his owne presence, he got of the Abbot of Ramsey 100. pounds; but the Abbot of Brough had al ready to refuse him the like summe. Though the King told him it was more Almes to give unto him, than to a begger that went from doore to doore: the Abbot of S. Albans yet was more kinde, and gave him 60. Markes. To this lownesse, Lewes ever exposed to his will, feele the weight of these his wants, and their Estates are continually ran sackt. One Abraham found a delinquent, redemea himselfe for 700. Markes. And another Jew, protests, the King had since his last being in France, taken from his at times, thirty shalld Markes of silver, besides he had given 200. Markes of Gold to the Queen.

The Lords assemble againe at London, and press him with his promise made unto them, that the chiefe Iusticiar, Chancellour, and Treasurer might be constituted by the generall Councell of the Kingdome; but by reason of the absence of Richard Earle of Cornwall, which was thought to be of purpose, they returne frustrate of their desire. So that discontentment still goes ill, and neither side get any thing but by hard wrestings, which became then both ill, and shew us the miseries of a dis-joynted time.

The King labours the Covent of Duresme to preferre his brother Aethelmar to the Bishopricke, the Covent refutes him, in regard of his youth and insufficiency; the King answers, that thon he would keep the Bishopricke eighte annewre years more in his hand, till his brother were of more maturity. Shortly after the Bishopricke of Winchester falls voyde, and thither he sends presently his solicitor to prepare the Monkes of the Cathedrall Church to elect his brother, and for that he would not have also their repulse, he suddenly goes thither himselfe in person, enters the Chapterhouse as a Bishop or Prior, gets up into the Presidents Chayre, begins a Sermon, and takes his seat Justice and Peace hath hissed each other, and therto ponauds these wordes: To me, and other Kings,

then of few
els, payneth
Gascoignes, and
after his
Crown, when
having nei-
ther credit
nor partie
of his owne,
he layeth the
ornaments
and Jewels of
Sain Ed-
wards Shrine,
gives over
Housekeeping.

1249.

Anno

Reg. 33

The King re-
quires New
yeares gifts.

1250

Anno

Reg. 34

The King's
speech to the
Chapter at
Winchester.

The Life and Reigne of Henry the third.

Kings, and to our Princes and Justiciars, who are to governe the people, belong the rigor of judgement, and Justice to you, who are men of quiet and religion, peace and tranquillity; and this day I haue (for your owne good) beeene favourable to my request. Justice and Peace hath kissed each other. Once I was offended with you for notwithstanding me in the election of William Rale your late Bishop, a man I liked not, but now I am friends with you for this; and will both remember and reward your kindness. As by a woman came destruction to the World, so by a woman came the remedy. To satisfi my wife, desirous to preferre her Uncle William Valentine, disquieted and daunified you, so now, willing to advance my brother, by the Mother, will reconcile my selfe unto you, &c. And you are to consider how in this City I was borne, and in this Church Baptized. Wherefore you are bound unto me in a straighter bond of affection, &c. Then commends hee the high birth and good parts of his Brother, and what honour and benefit they shoule have by electing him, but concludes with some threatening. So that the Monkes seeing him thus to require the Bishopricke, held it in waine to deny him, and Athelmar is elected though with this reservation, if the Pope allowed thereaf. Shortly after followes the memorable cause of Sir Henry de Bath a Justiciar of the Kingdome, and an especiall Councillor to the King, who by corruption had attayned to a mighty Estate, and is sayd in one circuit to have gotten 200. pound land per annum; he is accused by Sir Phillip Darcy of false hood in the Kings Court, and the King so incensed against him, as in the Parliament about this time holden in London, Proclamation is made, that whosoever had any action or complaint against Henry de Bath, should come and be heard: one of his fellow Justiciars accused him of acquitting a malefactor for a bribe. The King seeing the friends of the accused strong, breakes out into rage, protesting that whosoever would kill Henry de Bath should be acquited for the deede: but afterwards he becomes pacified by the Earle of Cornwall, and the Bishop of London, Who urg'd the danger of the time, the discontentment of the Kingdom; and how the proceeding in such a manner with one of his Councill, whom he had used in so great busynesse, would discourage others to serve such a Master, who upon maliciouse accusations should so forsake them, whose places were ever exposed to envy and detraction. And thereupon Sir Henry is released paying 1000. Markes, and after restored to his former place and favour.

The cause
of Sir Henry
Bath.

1251.
Anno
Reg. 35
in Parlia-
mente.

The marriage
of Margaret
with Alexan-
der King of
scots, solemn-
ized at Yorke.

1251.

The King of
France pris-
oner by the
Soldier.

The King keepeing his Christmas at Yorke, the marriage is solemnized betweene Alexander King of Scots, and Margaret his Daughter, the ryot of which feast with the vaine expences of apparel (the note of a diseased time) is described by our author, who amongst other things, reports how the Archbishop gave 80. fat Oxen which were spent at one meale; besides, that feast cost him 4000. Markes, which shewes, the poverty of the Church, was not so great as it was pretended to be, seeing when they would shew that glory, they could finde what they denied at other times.

The Pope sollicites the King to undertake the Crosse, and so doth Alfonso King of Castille: Offering to accompany him in Person to rescue the King of France. Who having even emptied his Country both of Treasure and Nobility, was now taken prisoner by the Soldier, and held in miserable captivity. A ransome collected for him in France, with great vexation, is by tempest cast away on the Sea, other meanes are made for treasure, which could not easilly behad: the captiue King offers to restore Normandy to the King of England so hee would come to his rescue. Which, the Nobility of France takes ill and disdaineth the weakeenesse of their King: upon the Popes sollicitation and the graue of a Tenth of the Clergy and Layety for three yeares

to

The Life and Reigne of Henry the third.

to come, the King of England undertakes the Crosse, rather it seemes to get the mony than with any purpose to performe the journey. Which, had it beene collected, would (saith Paris) have amounted to 600. thousand pound, to the utter impoverishing of the Kingdome, which was that, they both fought, but by severall wayes; for many now began to discover, that the Pope, by this imbacking the Princes of Christendome in this remote, and consuming warre, to wast them, their Nobility and Kingdome, was onely but to extend his owne power and domination.

The King by Proclamation calls the Londoners to Westminster, and there causes the Bishops of Worcester and Chichester, to declare his intentions; and exhort the people to undertake the crosse and attend him; but few are mooved by their perswasions, onely three Knights (and they of no great note) are nominated, whom the King presently, in open view, embraces, kisstes and calls bretheren, checking the Londoners as ignoble mercenaries, for that few of them were forward in this action; notwithstanding he there takes his Oath for performing of the same, and to set forth presently upon Midsummer day next. In taking his oath, he layes his right hand on his breast (according to the manner of a Priest) and after on the booke, and kist it, as a Lay man.

A Parliament about this Tenth (granted by the Pope but not the people) is called at London, the Bishops are first dealt withall (as being a worke of piety) to induce the rest; they absolutely refuse the same: then the Lords are set upon, they answer: What the Bishops (who were first to give their voice consent unto) they would allow the same: this shuffling put the King into so great rage as he drove out all that were in his Chamber, as he had been mad. Then falls he to his former course, to perswade them apart, sends first for the Bishop of Eley, deales with him in all milde and kinde manner, recounting the Many favours he had received at his hands: how forward he had found him heretofore to supply his occasions; and intreats him now to give good example to others, &c. The Bishop replies, He was glad at any time to have done him acceptable service, but in this, for himselfe, to goe from that forme, the universallity of the state had determined, he held it a dishonest act; and therefore besought his Highnesse he would not urge him therunto, dissuading him from that journey by the example of the King of France, on whom he might see the punishment of God to be fulme, for his rapine made on his peoples substance, wherewith he had now enriched his enemies, who were growne fat with the infinite treasure of the Christians transported into those parts.

The King seeing the resolution of this grave Bishop, in great passion comauaded his servants to thrust him out of doore, perceiving by this what was to be expected of the rest; and so falls to his former violent courses. During this Parliament (an ill time for futors) Isabel Countesse of Arundel (widow) comes unto him about a Warde detained from her, in regard of a small parcell of land held in Capite (which drew away all the rest) the King giving her a harsh answer and turning away, she sayd unto him: My Lord, why turne you away your face from Justice, that we can obtaine no right in your Courts, you are constituted in the middest betwixt God and us; but neither governe your selfe nor us directly as you ought, you shamefully vex both the Church and Nobles of the Kingdome by all meanes you may: To which speech the King dismally replies: Lady Countesse hath the Lords made you a Charter and sent you (for that you are an Eloquent speaker) to be their advocate and prolocutrix? No Sir, (saith she) they have not made any Charter to me. But the Charter which your father and you made, and sworne so often to observe, and so often extorted from your subjects their mony for the same, you unworthily transgresse, as a manifest breaker

The King of
England un-
dercetaketh the
Crosse.

1252.
Anno
Reg. 36

The Bishops
and Lords de-
ny the King
the tenth
granted by
the Pope.

The speech of
Isabel Count-
esse of Arun-
del to the king.

The King reproved by the Master of the Hospitall of Ierusalem.

breaker of your faith. Where are the Liberties of England, so often written, so often granted, so often bought ? I (though a woman) and with me, all your naturall, and faifhfull people, appeal against you to the tribunall of that High Judge above ; and heaven and earth shall bee our witness, that you have most unjustly dealt with us, and Lord God of reverge, avenge us. Herewithall the King disturbed, asked her if shee expected no grace from him being his kinswoman : How shall I hope for grace, saye he, when you deny me right ? and I apeale before the face of Christ against those Counsellors of yours, who, onely greedy of their owne gaine, have bewitched and infatuated you.

As boldly, though in fewer words, is he reprooved by the Master of the Hospitall of Ierusalem in Clarken-well, who comming to complaine of an injury committed against their Charter, the King told him : The Prelates, and especially the Templars and Hospitalers, had so many Liberties and Charters that their riches made them proud, and their pride mad, and that those things which were unadvisedly granted, were with discretion to be revoked ; and alledges how the Pope had often recalled his owne grants, with the clause non obstante, and why should not he cashier those Charters inconsiderately granted by him, and his Predecessors ? What say you Sir (sayd the Prior,) God forbid so ill a word should proceede out of your mouth. So long as you observe Justicc you may be a King, and as soone as you violate the same, you shall leave to be a King.

The Fryer Minors, to whom he had sent a load of Frees to cloath them, returned the same with this message : That he ought not to give Almes of what he had rent from the poore, neither wold they accept of that abominable gift. With these and many such like boldt encounters (ill becomming the obedience of Subjects) is this King affronted : to shew us the ill complexion of the time, and how miserable a thing it is for a Prince to loose his reputation, and the love of his people, whereby they both have their vexations.

And daily more and more hardned hee is against the English : whereby Strangers are made so insolent, as they commit many ryots and oppressions in the Kingdome. William de Valence (whose youth and presumption went which way his will led him) goes frorn his Castle of Hartford to a Parke of the Bishop of Ely, lying neare his Manner of Hatfield, where after having spoyled much game he enters into the Bishops houle, and finding no drinke but Ale, causes the Cellar doore being strongly barred, to be broken open by his people, who after they had drunke their fill, let out the rest on the floore. But a greater violence than this was offered to an Officiall of the Archbishop of Canterbury by the commandement of the Elect of Winchester (the one brother to the Queene, the other to the King) which troubled them both and gave them much to doe before it was appeased. Guy de Lusignan, the other brother of the King comming as a guest to the Abbot of S. Albans, violates the Rights of Hospitality, and many other injuries are reported by our Author to have beeene committed by Strangers, and much complaint is made, of that time, wherein, this was said to be the usuall exclamation. Our inheritance is given to Aliens, and our houses to strangers, which notwithstanding the King seekes still to preferre.

A daughter of Guy de Lusignan Earle of Angouleme is married to Richard (or Gilbert de Clare) Earle of Gloucester, a man eminent, and dearely loved of the Nobility ; Learned in the Lawes of the Land ; and held a great Patriot : which manacle of alliance lockt not yet his hards from defending the liberties of his Country ; the King promises her a dowry of five thousand Marks, which he sought to borrow of divers, but could not.

strangers
commit ryots.

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The City of London is againe compelled to the contribution of 1000 Markes ; and the Gascoignes being upon revolt (unless speedy remedy were taken) generall musters are made, and commandement given, that whosoeuer could dispend thirteene pounds per annum, should furnish out a horseman. This with the extreame wants of the King, occasions another Parliament, wherein the State began, it seemes, wilely to consider, that all their oppositions did no good, the Kings turne must be served one way or other, some must pay for it ; and where it lighted on particulars, it was farre more heavy than it could be in generall ; and therefore they agreed to releeve him, rather by the usual way, than force him to those extravagant courses which he tooke. But so, as the reformation of the government and ratification of their Lawes, might be once againe solemnly confirmed.

And after fifteene dayes consultation to satisfie the Kings desire, for his holy expedition (a Tenth is granted by the Clergy) which yet by view of the Lords should, upon his setting forth, be distributed for three yeares ; and Scutage, three Markes of every Knights fee, by the Laytie for that yeare. And now againe those often confirmed Charters are ratified, and that in the most solemne and ceremoniall manner, as Religion and State could ever devise to doe.

The King with all the great Nobility of England, all the Bishops & chiefe Prelates in their reverend Ornements, with burning candles in their hands, assemble to heare the terrible sentence of Excommunication against the infringers of the same. And, at the lighting of those Candles, the King having received one in his hand, gives it to a Prelate that stood by, saying, It becomes not me being no Priest to hold this candle, my heart shall be a greater testimony, and withall, laid his hand spread on his breaste the whole tyme the sentence was read, which was thus pronounced : *Autoritate dei omnipotenti*, &c. which done, he caused the Charter of King John his Father, granted by his free consent to be likewife openly read. In the end, having throwne away their candles, (which lay smoaking on the ground) they cryed out : So let them who incurre this sentence be extinct, & stinke in hell. And the King with a loud voyce said : As God me helpe I will, as I am a Man, a Christian, a Knight, a King crowned and annoyncted, inviolably obserue all these things. And therewithall the Bells rung out, and all the people shouted with joy.

Never were Lawes amongst men (except those holy Commandements from the Mount) established with more majesty of ceremony, to make them reverend and respected than were these : they wanted but thunder and lightning from heaven (which if prayers could have procured, they would likewise have had) to make the sentence gashly and hideous to the infringers thereof. The greatest security that could be given was an Oath (the onely chaine on earth, besides love to tye the conscience of a man and humane society together) which, should it not hold us, all the frame of government and other must needs fall quite a sunder.

Now the busynesse of Gascoigne (that required present care) is in hand, which the better to know, wee must retурne to the head whence it sprung : twenty seven yeares past, the King by the counsell of the Lords, freely granted to his brother Richard II that Province, who is there received as their Lord, with their oathes of fealty made unto him ; and so continues, untill the King (having issue of his own, by motion of the Queene) revokes his gift, and confers it upon the eldest son Edward. Richard, though he were deprived of the possessions, would not yeeld to forgoe his right, and at the Kings last being in Gascoigne, many of them stood doubtfull whom to attend ; the King

A Tenth and Scutage granted by Parliament.

I 253.
Anno
Reg. 37

The King renounces Gascoigne from his brother Richard, gives it to his sonne Prince Edward.

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The Life and Reigne of Henry the third.

ingreat displeasure commanded his brother to resigne his Charter, and renounce his right, which he refusing to doe, the King commands those of *Burdeaux* to take and imprison him; but they (in regard of his high blood, the holomey they had made him, & the Kings mutability, who might repente his own commandement) would not aduenture thereon. Then he aslays them with mohey, which effected more than his commandement: The Earle is in danger to be surprised, escapes out of *Burdeaux*, and comes over into *England*.

The King assembles the Nobility of *Gascogny* at *Burdeaux*; inveighes against his brother: *A man*, said he, *was covetous and a great oppresour, a large promiser, but a spare payer; and that hee would provide them of a better Governour*: Withall, promises them thirty thousand Markes (as a price of their obedience) and so nullifies the Charter of his former donation, with their homage, and takes thereof fealty to himselfe. Which yet they would not make unto him, till he had inwraught himselfe both by his Charter & Oath for this promised summe: whereunto they so held him, as thereby afterward they lost his love. And to be revenged on them, he sends *Simon Montfort* Earle of *Leicester*, a rough and martiall man, to master their pride: makes him a Charter for six yeares to come, and furnishes him with 10000 Markes the better to effect his command. *Montfort* by his sterne government so discontents the *Gascognes*, as after three yeares suffering, they send the Archbishop of *Burdeaux* with other great men to complaine of his hard dealing, and accuse hym of haynous crimes: Their greevances are heard before the King and his Councell. *Montfort* is sent for over, to answer for himselfe, the Earle of *Cornwall* for his received wrong in those parts, and the Lords of *England* for their love to him, take *Montforts* part; and that so eagerly, as the King comes about to favour and countenance the *Gascognes* against *Montfort*; not for his love to them, but to awe and abate the other. Whereupon *Montfort* enters into undutifull contestation with the King, upbraides him with his expencefull service: wherein he sayes, hee had utterly consumed his Estate: And how the King had broken his word with him; and requires him either to make it good according to his Charter, or render him his expences. The King in great rage told him, no promise was to be observed with an unworthy Traitor: Wherewith *Montfort* rises up protesting, that he lyed in that word, & were he not protected by his Royall dignity, he would make him repente it. The King commands his servants to lay hold on him, which the Lords would not permit. *Montfort* thereupon grew more audacious, saying, who will beleeve you are a Christian? were you ever confessed? if you were, it was without repentance and satisfaction. The King told him, he never repented him of any thing so much, as to have permitted him to enter into his kingdome, and to have honoured and instated him as he had done.

Simon Montfort
Earle of Leice-
ster sent into
Gascogny.

*Montforts con-
testation with
the King.*

Montfort reurned to his charge.

The *Gascognes* after this, are privately sent for by the King, who gives them all comfort, and encourages them against *Montfort*, whom yet he would againe send over to his charge, but with clipt wings, whereby both himselfe and they might the better be revenged on him; and withall confirms the state of *Gascogne* to his son *Edward*, whom he promised them shortly to send over, wherewith they are much pleased, and after they had done their homage to the Prince, depart. The effect of this confused and ill-packett businesse was such, as all indirect courses produce. *Montfort* returnes in flames to plague the *Gascognes*, and they in like manner him; but he by his great alliance in *France*, drawes together such a power, as beyond expectation, he over-matches the *Gascognes*, whose estates he exposes to spoyle, and therewithall entertaines

The Life and Reigne of Henry the third.

entertaines great collected Armies. They againe send over their complaints; and unlesse they were speedily releaved, they of force must put their Country into some other hand, that would protec them.

And in this state stood *Gascogne* now at the time of this last Parliament, whither the King, upon this late supply granted (omitting his Easterne enterprize) goes with 300 Saille of great ships, and lands at *Burdeaux* in *August*, Anno Reg. 38. having first deposed *Simon Montfort* from the government there, and makes voide this Charter by proclamation. *Montfort* retires from thence, & is offered entertainment by the *French*, but refuses it. Before Winter the King had in some sort appeased the *Gascognes*, and taken in such Castles, as had long held out against him, and the late Governour. For they having put themselves under the protection of the King of *Spaine*; who being so neare a neighbour, and the discontents and factions of the Country strong, caused the King of *England* with more haste and care to looke to his worke; and the rather, for that the King of *Spaine* pretended title to *Aquitaine*; of whom that King *Henry* might be the more feare, he sends to treat with him of a marriage betwixt Prince *Edward* and his sister *Elionor*, whereunto the King of *Spaine* willingly consents.

The King goes over into *Gascogne* with 300 great ships.

Alliance with
the King of
Spaine.

1254.

Anno

Reg. 38

Prince *Edward*
marries *Elionor*
sister to the
king of *Spaine*.

The King of *England* keepes his Christmas at *Burdeaux*. The Queene sends him a newe-yeares-gift of 500 Markes, and the next Summer, with the Prince goes over unto him. The marriage is solemnized at *Burgos*, where the King of *Spain* knights the Prince, and by his Charter quits his claime to *Aquitaine*, for him and his successors for ever. The King of *England* invests the Prince and his wife therein, and besides gives unto him *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Bristol*, *Stamford* & *Granham*. This busynesse dispatched, the King prepares to returne, having consumed all whatsoever hee could get in his journey, which with the other two he had before made, was reckoned to have cost him twenty seven hundred thousand pounds, and was said to be more than all the Lands he had there (should they be sold) were worth; which, when hee was told, he willed it might not be revealed in publick to his disgrace.

Now in regard of danger by sea, he obtaines leave of the King of *France* (lately returned from captivity) to passe through his Countrey, and comes to *Paris* with a 1000 Horse, besides Sumpters, and Carts, where hee stayes eight dayes, is sumptuously feasted, and with as great magnificence feasts the King of *France*. This meeting, in regard of the two Queenes sisters, and their other two sisters the Countesse of *Cornwall* and *Provence* (who were like-wife afterward Queenes) was made the more triumphant and splendidous. The King about Christmas arrives in *England*, and the first that paid for his comming home were the *Londoners* and the *Iewes*. The *Londoners* presenting him with 100 pounds, were returned without thankes: then being perswaded, that plate would be better welcome, they bestowed 200 pounds in a faire vessell: that had some thankes, but yet served not the turne. An offence is found, about the escaping of a prisoner, for which they pay 3000 Markes. Now complaines he of his debts, which he sayes to be 30000 Markes, and how his owne meanes was diminished by the preferment of the Prince, who carried away 15000 Markes per annum, and money must be had howsoever. First, he begins to seive his present turne with loanes, and borrows great summes of the Earle of *Cornwall*, upon pawn, and after the King had wrung what he could from the *Iewes*, he lets them out to *Farme* to this rich Earle to make the best of them.

Then a Parliament is called in Easter Term, which yeelds nothing but returns of greevances, and complaint of breach of Charter, with requiring their

King *Henry*
comes to *Paris*
with 1000
horse, is feasted
by the King of
France.

He returns
into *England*,
sistes the *Lon-
doners*.

1275.
Anno
Reg. 41
¹⁶ Parliament
adjourned.

Pope Alex. 4:

Edmond the
Kings second
son is promis-
ed the king-
dome of Sicile.

b.
i. 21.

The complaint
of the Mer-
chants of
Gascoigne.

An ill Office
of Officers.

their former pretended rights in electing the Justiciar, Chancellour, and Treasurer. After much debate to no purpose, the Parliament is prorogued till Michaelmas after; when likewise the Kings motion for money is disappointed, by reason of the absence of many Peeres, being not, as was alledged, summoned according to the tenor of *Magna Charta*. New occasions of charge and dislike arise: Thomas Earle of *Sauoy*, the Queenes brother hath warres with the City of *Thuren*, and must be supplied by the King and Queen, & his brother Boniface Archbishop of *Canterbury*. The elect Bishop of *Toledo*, brother to the King of *Spaine* with other great men come over, lyce at the Kings charge, and are presented with great gifts. Shortly after, Elizabéthe Princes wife arrives with a multitude of *Spaniards*, and shée must be met, and received by the *Londoners* in sumptuous manner; and her people after many Feastings returned home with presents. The Pope sends the Bishop of *Bononia* with a Ring of investiture, to Edmond the second sonne for the kingdome of *Sicile* (with the hope of which kingdome his predecessor *Innocent* the fourth had before deluded the King himselfe) and he is returned with a great reward. Then comes *Rustandus* with power to collect the Tenth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to the use of the Pope and the King, and to absolve him from his Oath for the holy Warre: so that hee would come to destroy *Manfred* son to the Emperour *Frederick*, now in possession of the kingdome of *Sicile* & *Apulia*. And this man likewise hath great gifts bestowed on him, besides a rich Prebend in *Yorke*: but yet he obtained not what hee came for, of the Clergy, who protested, rather to lose their lives and livings, than to yeeld either to the will of the Pope or the King, who, they said, were as the *Sheapheard* and the *Wolfe* combined to mācerate the *Flock*.

The Pope sent likewise to borrow of the Earle of *Cornwall* 500 Markes, in regard of his Nephewes preferment to the kingdome of *Sicile*, but the Earle refused it, saying, *He would not lend his money to one on whom he could not distaine*. So this project came to nothing, though all meanes were used to draw it on. Newes was spread that *Manfreds* Forces were utterly defeated, & himself either slaine or taken prisoner: wherewith the King is so much joyed, as he presently vowed with all speede to make an expedition thither, and gives his sonne Edmond no other Title but King of *Sicile*. This vaine hope had already, by the cunning of the Popes inwapt him in obligations of a hundred and fifty thousand Markes. But shortly after this newes proves false, and the contrary is notified. *Manfred* is victorious, and the Popes power defeated by those of *Apulia*, who tooke such indignation that the Pope should give away their Countrey (without their consent) to an unknowne Stranger, as with all their maine power they joyned to establish *Manfred*, who is now found to be the legitimate sonne of *Frederick*, and confirmed in his right, which a strong sword will make howsoever.

The King keepes his *Christmas* at *Winchester*, where the Merchants of *Gascoigne* having their wines taken from them by the Kings Officers, without due satisfaction, complaine to the Prince, being now their Lord, and shew him, *How they were better to trade with Sarazins and Infidels, than thus to bee used here, as they were*. The Prince addresses him to his Father, and craves redresse herein, but the Officers having beene with the King before to prevent the clamours of the *Gascoignes*, and telling him, *How they falsely exclaime, relying wholly upon the Princes favour, who tooke upon him their unjust cause (and that there ought to be but one in England, to whom the ordering of justice appertained)* put him into so great a rage with the Prince, as he breaks out into these words: *See now my blood & mine owne bowels impugne me, behold my son, as my brother*

brother hath done, is bent to afflict me, the times of my grandfather Henry the second, are againe renewed, what will become of us? But this passion being alayled by Counsell, he dissembles the matter, and gives order, that these injurys should be redressed. But yet the Prince for more caution, amplifying his traine, rode with 200 horse. So easily are jealousies by evill Ministers infused into Kings, who are of themselves too apprehensive in that kinde, being a thing that soone turns the blood.

And now to adde to the misery of these times, there are new mischieves committed by the insolence of the Servants of the Prince, who being himselfe young, was attended by many youthfull and violent spirits, many strangers, and men without meanes, who, wheresoever he went, made spoyle, and tooke for their owne, whatsoever they could fasten on, to the extreame vexation of the subject. And they report, how this Prince meeting a young man travailing on the way, caused one of his eares to be cut off, and one of his eyes put out: which foule act made many to suspect his disposition, and what he would prove hereafter. And indeed, had he not beene endued with an innated noblenesse of nature (which, with his long experience in travaille and great actions overcame the vices, the loosenesse of the time, and his owne breeding contracted) he might have proved as bad as any other. For, unlesse Princes of themselves, by instinct from above be endued with a naturall goodness, they shall gaine little by their education, wherein they are rather shewed what they are, than what they should be; and are apter to learne to know their greatnessse than themselves; being ever soothed in all whatsoever they doe.

These youthfull actions of this Prince, with his riotous traine (which are said to be more ravenous than those which *Louys* brought out of *France* with him) put out the *Welsh* (of whom he had now the government) into open act of rebellion, and to make spoyle of the *English*, as he did of them: whereupon he craves meanes of his Father, the Queen, and his Uncle *Richard* to supprese them. But all was vented already, the Kings Treasure was gone over the *Alpes*, Earle *Richard* had lent more than he could get in; and the Earle of *Sauoy* in his warres had spent that of the Queen.

The King is still at his shifts to supply his everlasting necessities. Now he comes himselfe into his Exchequer, and with his owne voyce pronounced, *That every Shrieve which appeared not yearly in the Octaves of S. Michel, with his money, as well of his Farmes as amercements and other dues: for the first day should be amerced five Markes, for the second ten, for the third fifteen, for the fourth to be redeemed at the Kings pleasure. In like sort, that all Cities and Freedomes which answer by their Bayliffes, upon the same default should be amerced, and the fourth day to lose their freedomes. Besides, every Sherife throughout England is amerced at five Markes, for that they did not distaine within their Countries upon whomsoever held 10 pound land per annum, and came not to bee made Knight, or freed by the King*. Then falls he to the examination of measures for Wine and Ale, for Bushels and Weights, which likewise brought in some small thing, and every yeare commonly hath one quarrell or other to the *Londoners*, and gets some-thing of them.

But now there fell out a busines that entertained some time, and gave occasion to amaze the world with conceit of some great advantage and honour to the kingdome, by the election of *Richard Earle of Cornwall*, to be King of the *Romans*, which was (as our Writers say) by the generall consent of all the Electors, & by them is he sent for to receive that Crown: the matter is here debated in Councell. Some, who thought his presence necessary to sway businesse

Insolencies
committed by
the Princes
servants.

The Earle of
Cornwall elec-
ted King of
the *Romans*.

The Life and Reigne of Henry the third.

nesses in the kingdome, were unwilling and dissuade him by example of the miserable destruction of two lately elected to that dignity, *Henry the Last-grave of Turing, & William Earle of Holland*; but others, & especially the King (who was willing to be ridde of him, as one he had often found too great for a subject; and being a King abroad he might make use of him) perswades to take it upon him, which he is easily (though seeming otherwise) induced to doe.

But the German Writers (who are best witnesses of their owne affaires) declare, how after the murther of the Earle of Holland, the Electors were divided about the choyce of a successor. Some stiffe to uphold their ancient custome in electing one of their owne Countrey, which was more naturall. Others, of a stranger, who might better support their declining State, which was more politick. Long were the confiſcs of their Counſels: hereupon in the end, their voyces who stood for strangers were moſt, but they likewise disagreed among themſelves, ſome would have Richard brother to the King of England, others Alphonſus King of Spaine, both of them not only contending who ſhould have it, but who ſhould give moſt to buy it: in the end Richard being neareſt at hand, and his money the readier, is preferred by the Bishop of Atenz, the Bishop of Cologne, and the Palſgrave, whose voyces he is ſaid to have bought, and afterward is crowned at Aquisgrane. Now to conſirme himſelfe, ſay they, in his State, he proceedes in all violent and hostile manner (according as was ſet on) againſt thoſe who opposed his election; & having conſummed himſelfe both by his exceeſive gifts, in purſhing the ſufragies he had, and by this proſecution, he came to be diſpoſefed, forſaken, and forced to returne into England to his brother Henry, then in warre with his Nobles. Thus they deliver it.

Richard crownd at Aquisgrane.

But before the Earle departed out of England, the Earle of Glouceſter, and Sir John Mansell, were ſent into Germany to ſound their affections, and how they stood diſpoſed towards him. They returne well perſwaded of the buſineſſe, and ſhortly after the Archbiſhop of Cologne comes to conduict him over, on whom the Earle beſtowes 500 Markes towards his charges, and a rich Miter ſet with preceious ſtones. This Prince the Earle of Cornwall is reported able to diſpend 100 Markes a day for ten yeareſ, beſides his revenues in England.

The French, and especially the King of Spaine, are much diſpleased with this advancement, complaining to the Pope and the King of England of the ſupplantation of the Earle of Cornwall. Spaine pretenting to have beeene first elected, but being, it ſeemes, a Philoſopher, and ſtudious in the Mathema‐ticks (which he firſt revived in Europe) he was drawing lines when he ſhould have drawne out his purse, and ſo came prevented of his hopes.

1257.
Anno
Reg. 4.
15 Parliament

About the time of the departure of Earle Richard (in the jollity of the kingdome upon this new promotion, and to ſet forward another) the King caſſes a Parliament, wherein (bringing forth his ſonne Edmond clad in an Apulian habit) he uſes these words: *Behold my good ſubjects, heere my ſonne Edmond whom God of his grace hath called to the dignitie of Regall excellencie, how ſitting and worthy is he the favour of you all, and how inhumane and tyrauous were he who (in ſo important a neceſſity) would deny him counſell and ayde.* And when he ſhewes them, how by the advise and benignity of the Pope, and the Church of England, he had for attaining the kingdome of Sicile bound himſelfe, under covenant of loſing his kingdome of England, in the ſumme of 140 thouſand Markes. Moreover, how he had obtained the tenth of the Clergy, for three yeareſ to come, of all their benefices to be eſtimated according to the new

The Life and Reigne of Henry the third.

new rate, without deduſion of expences unleſſe very neceſſary: beſides their first Fruits likewiſe for three yeareſ. Which declaration, how pleaſing it was to the Clergy, may be juſted by their former grudgings. Notwithſtanding after they had made their pittifull excuses, in regard of their povertie, they promiſed upon the uſuall condition of Magna Charta, &c. ſo often iworne, bought and redeemeſ, to give 52 thouſand Markes, but this ſatisfieſ him not.

The next yeare after is another Parliament at London, wherein, upon the Kings preſſing them againe, for meaſies to pay his debts to the Pope: the Lords tell him plainly: *They will not yeeld to pay him any thing. And if unaduifedly hee without their conſents and counſell bought the kingdome of Sicile, and had beeene deceipted, he ſhould impute it to his owne imbadility, and beeſt dome was offered unto him by Albert the Popes Agent, abſolutely refuſed it, in regard it lay ſo farre off, ſo many Nations betweene: the cauſes of the Popes: the infidelity of the people, and the power of the pretender, &c.* Then repeat they their owne greevances, *The breach of his promiſes, conuening both the keyes of the Churche, and the Charter he had ſolemny ſworne to obſerve: the insolence of his brethren and other strangers, againſt whom, by his order, no Writ w. is to paſſe out of the Chancery for any cauſe whatſoever: How their pride was intollerable, especially that of William de Valence, who moſt reproachfully had given the lyce to the Earle of Leiceſter, for which he could not be righted upon his complaint: How they abounded all in riches, and himſelfe was ſo poore, as hee could not repreſe the ſame forces of the Welch that wasted his Countrey, but going the laſt yeare againſt them and effecting nothing,* returned with diſhonour. The King hearing this, (as he was apt upon rebukes ſoundly urged to be ſenſible, and his owne neceſſities conſtraining him to ſeueunto) humbles himſelfe, and tells them: *How hee had often by ill counſell beeene ſeduced, and promiſes by his oath, which hee takes on the tombe of S. Edward, to reforme all theſe erroures.* But the Lords not knowing how to hold their ever-changing Proteus (faith Paris) in regard the buſineſſe was diſſicult, get the Parliament to be adjourneſ till S. Barnabas day, and then to assemble at Oxford. In the meane time the Earle of Glouceſter, Leiceſter, Hereford, the Earle Marshall, Bigod, Spencer, and other great men conſederate, and provide by ſtrength to effect their deſire. Whiſt the King put to his ſhifts to obtaine money, getteth the Abbot of Westminster, upon promife of highe preſeruent to put his Seale, and that of his Covent to a deede obligatory, as a ſurety for three hundred Markes, that by his example he might draw on others to doe the like. ſeſding his truſty Counſellors and Clerke ſimon Paſſelue abroad with his Letters, and this Deede unto other Monasteries. But Paſſelue, notwithstanding all the diligence and ſkill he could uſe by threaſes or otherwise, telling them, *How all they had come from the benignity of Kings, and how their ſovereigne was Lord of all they had, they flatly refuse to yeeld to any ſuch Deede;* ſaying, *they acknowledg'd the King to be Lord of all they had, but ſo, as to defend, not to deſtroy the ſame.* And thus he coines likewiſe diſappointed in this project.

The Prince, who likewiſe muſt participate in the waits of his Father, was driven to morgage the Towne of Stratford, Braham, and many other things, to William de Valence, who out of his ſtofe ſupplied him with money, which after turned to the good of neither, for it laid a reſentment on the neceſſity of the one, which made him breake through his bands, and envy on the other, whose ſuperfluity made him odious.

But now comes assembled the Parliament at Oxford, and in a hot ſeaſon,

52 Thouſand Markes, upon conditions promiſed by the Clergy.

1248.

Anno
Reg. 4.2

Prince Edward morgages Stratford and other townes to William de Valence.

The Barons expostulate for their former liberties.

Cron. Lichfield, Henry eldest sonne to the King of Romane refused to take his oath Glouc. 49. H. 3.

Mat. Par.

(the worst time for consultation) and here burst out that great impostume of discontent so long in gathering. The traine which the Lords brought with them was pretended to be for some exploit against the *Welsh*, upon the end of the Parliament; and their securing the ports to prevent Forrainers; but the taking order for keeping of the Gates of *London*, and their Oathes and hands given to each other, shewed, that they were prepared to make the day theirs. Here they begin with the expostulation of the former liberties, and require the observation thereof, according unto the Oathes and Orders formerly made. The chiefe Iusticiar, Chancellour, and Treasurer to be ordained by publick choyce: The twenty fourre Conservators of the kingdome to be confirmed, twelve by the election of the Lords, and twelve by the King, with whatsoever else made for their owne imagined security. The King seeing their strength, and in what manner they required these things, sweares againe solemnly to the confirmation of them, and causes the Prince to take the same Oath.

But the Lords left not here; the Kings brethren, the *Poitouins* and other strangers must be presently removed, and the kingdome cleared of them, and this they would have all the Peeres of the Land iworke to see done. Heere they found some opposition in the Prince, the Earle *Warrein* and *Henry* eldest sonne to *Richard* now King of *Romane*, the last refusing to take his Oath without leave of his Father, they plaingly told him, *That if his Father would not consent with the Baronege in this case, he should not hold a Furrow of Land in England*. In the end, the Kings brethren and their followers are dispoyled of all their Fortunes, and exiled by proscription, under the Kings owne hand, directed to the Earles of *Hereford* and *Surrey*, with charge not to passe either their Money, Armes, Ornaments but in such sort as the Lords appointed; and after their departure, he enjoyneth the City of *Bristow*, and other Ports not to permit any strangers or kinsmen of his to arrive, unlesse they did so behave themselves, as both he and the Lords should like.

The *Poitouins* retiring to *Bolagny* in *France* send to King *Louys*, to crave safe passage through his country into *Poitou*, which (in regard the Queen of *France* had beeene informed how they had defamed her sister of *England*) was, by her meanes denied at that time, and *Henry* sonne to the Earle of *Leicester* (whose estimation was great in *France*) followes them with all eagerness thither, to incense the *French* against them. And as they whom Envy tumbles downe from high places, shall be sure ever to have all the thrusts possible to set them headlong into disgrace with the world; so now the death and sicknesse of divers great men and others happening in *England* soone after this fatall Parliament, is imputed to poysons supposed to have beeene prepared by those Gentlemen. The Earle of *Glocester* in a sicknesse suddenly lost his haire, his teeth, his nailes; and his brother hardly escaped death, which made many to suspect their nearest servants, and the Cookes, *Walter Scovyn* the Earles Steward being one, is strictly examined, committed to prison, and after, without confession executed upon presumptions at *Winchester*. *Elias* a converted Jew, is said to have confessed, that in his house the poyson was confest, but it was when he was a Devill, not a Christian. Any thing in the prosecution of malice serves the turne. Every man that had received any wrong by those great men, now put up their complaints and are heard, to the aggravation of their insolence and injustice. *Guido de Rochfort* a *Poitouin*, to whom the King had given the Castle of *Rochester*, is banished, and all his goods confiscate. *William Bussey* Steward to *William de Valence*, is committed to the Towre of *London*, and most reproachfully used, as an especi-

all

all Minister of his Masters insolencies. *Richard Gray* whom the Lords had made Captaine of the Castle of *Dover*, is set to intercept whatsoever the *Poitouins* conveyed that way out of *England*, and much treasure of theirs, and the elect of *Winchester* is by him there taken; besides great summes committed to the new Temple are found out, and seised into the Kings handis. And, as usually in such heates, much wrong is committed in these prosecutons of wrongs. But now (as an amuzatory, to make the ill-governed people thiak they are not forgotten) the new Chiefe Iusticiar *Hugh Bigod* brother to the Earle Marshall (chosen this last Parliament by publicke voyce) procures that fourre Knights in every shire should inquire of the oppressions of the poore done by great men, and under their hands and seales certifie the same by a certaine day to the Baronage, that redresse might be made. Moreover order was taken, that from thenceforth no man should give any thing (besides provisions) for justice, or to hinder the same, and both the corrupter and corrupted to be grievously punished. Notwithstanding this pretended care of the publick, it is noted by the writers and records of that time, how the Lords inforsed the services of the Kings tenants which dwelt neere them, and were *totidem tyranni*: how they furnished the especiall fortresses of the Kingdome with Guardians of their owne, sworne to the common State, and tooke the like assurance of all Sherifes, Baylifes, Coroners, and other publick Ministers, searching the behaviour of many strict Commissioners upon Oath. And to make their cause the more popular, it was rumored that the Kings necessity must be repaired out of the Estates of his people, and how he must not want whilst they had it; whereupon the King sends forth proclamation: *How certaine malicious persons had falsely and sediciously reported, that he meant unlawfully to charge his subjects and subvert the Lawes and liberties of the kingdome, and by these subtle suggestions, altogether false, averted the hearts of his people from him; and therefore desires them, not to give credit to such perturbers; for that he was ready to defend all Rights and Customes due unto them; and that they might rest of this secured, he caused of his free will his Letters to be made Patents.*

But now *Monfort*, *Glocester*, and *Spencer*, who had by the late institution of the twenty fourre Conservators, drawne the intire managing of the kingdome into their hands, infors the King to call the Parliament at *London*, where the authority of the twenty fourre is delivered unto themselves, and order taken, that three at the least should attend in the Court, to dispose of the custody of Castles, and other busynesses of the kingdome, of the Chancellour, chiefe Iusticiar, and Treasurer, and of all Officers great and small. And here they bind the King to loose to them their Legall obedience whensoever he infringed his Charter.

In this state stood the kingdome, when intelligence was given to the Lords, that *Richard* King of *Romane* had a purpose to come over into *England*, which made them greatly to suspect (being ignorant of the occasion) lest he were sent for by the King to come with power to subvert them, by the example of King *John*. Whereupon they send to know the cause of his coming, and to require of him an oath before he shoulde land, notto prejudice the now established orders of the kingdome: which he stearnly refuses to doe, saying: *He had no Peere in England being the sonne and brother of a King, and was above their power; and if they would have reformed the kingdome, they ought first to have sent for him, and not so presumptuously attempted a busynesse of so high a nature*. The Lords upon retурne of this answer send presently to guard the Ports, and come strongly to the Coast, prepared to encounter him

Regit. in Seaco.
Will. Rishanger

1252.

Anno

Reg. 42

15 Parliament
at London.
Ordinat. inter
Record. civit.
Lond.

Licet omibus
de Regno nosq[ue] contra nos invigore
gravamen no
strum open &
operam dare ac
sinobis in nullo
tenerentur.

Char. Orig. sub
Sigilo.
The Lordz re
quire an Oath
of him.

him if occasion were offered. But finding his traine small, accompanied only with his Queen, two German Earles, and eight Knights, they, upon his promise to take their propounded Oath, receive him to Land; but would neither permit the King, (who came likewise thither to meeke him) nor himselfe to enter into Dover Castle. At Canterbury they bring him into the Chapter house, where the Earle of Gloucester standing forth in the middest, calls out the Earle, not by the name of King, but Richard Earle of Cornwall, who in reverent manner comming forth, takes his Oath ministred in this manner.

Heare all men, that I Richard Earle of Cornwall, doe here sweare upon the holy Evangelists, that I shall be faithfull and diligent to reforme with you the kingdome of England, bitherto by the counsell of wicked persons over-much disordered; be an effectuall Coadjutor, to expell the Rebels and Disturbers of the same, and this Oath will inviolably observe under paine of losing all the Land I have in England; So helpe me God.

In this manner deale the Lords to binde this great Earle unto them, supposing his power to have beeene more than it was, which at length they found to be nothing but an ayrie Title; for having consumed all that mighty substance abroad in two years (which with great frugality had beeene many in gathering) he returnes in this manner home, poore, and forsaken by the Germans, without any other meanes to trust unto, but only what hee had in England.

Notwithstanding upon his retурne the King takes heart, & seeks all meanes to vindicate his power, dispatching first messengers secretly to Rome, to be absolved from his inforsed Oath, then sends into Scotland to the King, and the Queen his daughter for aydes to be ready upon his occasions. And to have the more assurance of the King of France, and be freed from forraine businesse, he makes an absolute resignation of whatsoever right he had to the Dutchy of Normandy, and the Earledomes of Aniou, Poitou, Tourene, and Maine, in regard whereof the King of France gives him three hundred thousand pounds (some say Crownes) of Aniouine money, and grants him to enjoy all Guien beyond the River Garonne, all the Countrey of Xantonge to the River of Charente, the Countries of Limosin and Quercy for him and his successors doing their homage and fealty to the Crown of France, as a Duke of Aquitaine, and a Peere of that kingdom.

The Lords likewise on the other side seeke to strengthen their association, and hold in each other to their Oathes, and observations of their Orders, which was hard to doe: for consisting of manifold dispositions, there was daily wavering, sometimes Pikes among themselves, in so much as the Earle of Leicester (the chiefe man that kept the fire of that faction in) told the Earle of Gloucester finding him staggering, *That he cared not to live with such men, whom he found so mutable and uncertaine, for said he, my Lord of Gloucester, as you are more eminent, so are you more bound to what you have undertaken for the good of the kingdome.* And as he incensed others, so had he those that animated him, as Walter Bishop of Worcester, and Robert Bishop of Lincolne, who injoynd him upon remission of his sinnes to prosecute the cause unto death, affirming, *How the peace of the Church of England could never be established but by the materiall sword.*

But now many being the temptations, many are drawne away from their side, especially after the sentence given against them by the King of France, made Arbitre of the quarrell, who yet though hee condemned the provisions of Oxford, allowed the confirmation of King Johns Charter: by which distinction

The Oath of
the King of
Romans.

1259.
Anno
Reg. 44
Heiresses
Normandy, &c.

1261.
Anno
Reg. 45

The Lords
combine a-
gainst the
King.

Wili. Rishanger.

distinction he left the matter as he found it: for those provisions, as the Lords pretended, were grounded upon that Charter. Howsover, his sentence much advantaged the King of England, and made many to dispence with their Oath, and leave their party. Amongst whom was Henry sonne to the Earle of Cornwall, (on whom the Prince had bestowed the Honour of Tychk. II.) who comming to the Earle of Leicester told him, hee would not be against his Father, the King, nor his allies: but said he, My Lord, I will never beare Armes against you; and therefore I crave leave to depart. The Earle chearefully replies: *My Lord Henry, I am not sorry for your departure, but for your inconstancie, goe, returne with your Armes, I feare them not at all.* About the same time Roger Clifford, Roger de Leisborne, Hamo l' Strange, and many other (won with gifts) depart from the Barons.

Shortly after Roger de Mortimer of the Kings part breakes into open act of hostility, makes spoyle of the Lands of the Earle of Leicester, who had now combined himselfe with Lewellin Prince of Wales, and had sent Forces to invade the Lands of Mortimer in those parts. And here the sword is first drawne in this quarrell, about three yeares after the Parliament at Oxford. The Prince takes part with Mortimer, surprises the Castle of Brecknock: with other places of strength, which he delivers to his custody. The Earle of Leicester recovers the Towne and Castle of Gloucester, constraines the Citizens to pay a thousand pounds for their redēption, goes with an Army to Worcester, possessest him of the Castle, thence to Shrewsbury, and so comes about to the Isle of Eley, subdues the same, and growes very powerfull.

The King doubting his approach to London (being not yet ready for him) workes so as a mediation of peace is made, and agreed upon these conditions: *That all the Castles of the King should be delivered to the keeping of the Barons; the provisions of Oxford, should be inviolably observed: All stran-
gers by a certayne time should avoide the kingdome, except such as by a generall
consent, should be held faithfull and profitable for the same.* Here was a little pause, which seemes was but as a breathing for a greater rage. The Prince had fortified Windsor Castle, victualled, and therein placed it strangers to defend it, and himselfe marches to the Towne of Bristol, where in a contentio[n] betweene the Citizens and his people, being put to the worse, hee sendis for the Bishop of Worcester (an especiall partaker of the Barons) to protect and conduct him back. When hee comes neere Windsor, hee gets into the Castle, which the Earle of Leicester comes to besiege, and being about Kingstone, the Prince meetes him to treat of peace, which the Earle refuses, and layes siege to the Castle, that was rendred unto him, the strangers turned out, and sent home into France.

The King to get time convokes another Parliament at London, wherein he wonne many Lords to take his part, and with them (the Prince Richard Earle of Cornwall, Henry his sonne, William Valence, with the rest of his brethren lately returned) he marches to Oxford, whither divers Lords of Scotland repaire to him, as John Comyn, John Baliol, Lords of Galloway, Robert Bruce and others; with many Barons of the North, Clifford, Percy, Basset, &c. From Oxford with all his Forces he goes to Northampton, where hee tooke prisoners Simon Montfort the younger, with fourteen other principall men; thence to Nottingham, making spoyle of such possessions as appertained to the Barons in those parts.

The Earle of Leicester in the meane time drawes towards London, to recover and make good that part, as of chiefe importance, and seekes to secure Kent and the Ports; which hastes the King to stop his proceeding, and sūc-
cour the Castle of Rochester besieged.

1262.
Anno
Reg. 46

1263.
Anno
Reg. 47

The begin-
ning of the
wars.

1264.
Anno
Reg. 48
16 Parliament

17 Parliament
held at London
Scottish Lords
come to ayde
the King of
England.

The Barons
mediate a
peace.

The battaile
of Lewys.

The King,
Prince and
others taken
prisoners.

12^o 5.
Anno
Reg. 49

Monsfort tixed
of wrong.

The Earle of
Gloucester leaves
him.

Successe and authority now growes strong on this side, in so much as the Earles of *Leicester*, *Glocester* in behalfe of themselves, and their party write to the King, humbly protesting their loyalty, *And how they oppoſed onely agaſt ſuch as were enemis to him and the kingdome, and had betayled them.* The King returnes answer; *how themſelves were the perturbers of him & his ſtate: enemis to his perſon, and ſought his and the kingdomeſ deſtruction, and therefore defies them.* The Prince and the Earle of *Cornwall* ſend likewife their letters of defiance unto them. The Barons notwithstanding doubtfull of their strength, or unwilling to put it to the hazard of a battaile, mediate a peace, and tend the Bifhops of *London* and *Worceſter* with an offer of 30 thousand Markes to the King, for damages done in these warres, ſo that the ſtatutes of *Oxford* might be obſerved; which yeeldingneſte the other ſide ſuppoſing to argue their debility, made them the more neglective, and ſecurer of their power, which commonly brings the weaker ſide (more watchfull of advan- tages) to have the better.

The Earle, ſeeing no other meanes but to put it to a day (being a man ſkil- full in his worke) taſes his time to be earlier ready than was expeted, and ſupplies his want of hands with his wit, placing on the ſide of a Hill neere *Lewis*, where this Battaille was fought, certaine enſignes without men, in ſuch ſort as they might ſeeme a farre off, to be ſquadrons of ſuccors to ſecond those he brought to the encounter, whom he cauſed all to weare white crof- fes, both for their owne notice, and the ſignification of his caufe, which hee would have to be for Iuſtice. Here the fortune of the day was his, the King, the Prince, the Earle of *Cornwall*, and his ſonne *Henry*, the Earles of *Arun- dell*, *Hereford*, and all the ſcotiſh Lords are his prisoners. The Earle *Warrein*, *William de Valence*, *Guy de Lusignan* the Kings brethen, with *Hugh Bigod* Earle *Marſhall*, ſave themſelves by flight, five thouſand are ſlaiane in this de- feite, which yet was not all the blood and deſtruction this buſineſſe cost.

All this yeare and halfe of the other, is *Simon Monsfort* in poſſeſſion of his priſoneſ: the King he carries about with him to countenance his actions, till he had gotten in all the ſtrongeſt Caſtles of the Kingdome. And now (as it uſually falſ out in confederations where all muſt be pleaſed or elſe the knot will diſſolve) debate arifes betweene the Earles of *Leicester* and *Gloceſter* about their dividend, according to their agreement. *Leicester* (as fortune makes men to forget themſelves) is taxed to doe more for his owne particular, than the common good: to take to himſelfe the benefit and diſpoſition of the Kings Caſtles: to uſurpe the redēption of priſoneſ at his pleasure, to prolong the buſineſſe, and not to uſe the meaneſ of a Parliament to end it: his ſonneſ alſo preſuming upon his greatneſſe, grow iſolent, which made *Gloceſter* to for- ſake that ſide, and betake him to the Prince, who lately escaping out of the Caſtle of *Hereford*, had gotten a power about him of ſuch as attended the opportunity of turning Fortune, and to revenge the diſhonour of one battaile by another.

The revolt of this Earle brought many hands to the Prince, whereby ma- ny peeces of strength are regai ned, both in *Engla nd* and *Wales*. The Earle of *Leicester*, to ſtop the proceeding of this mighty growing Prince (being now with his Army about *Worceſter*, imbaſtailes in a Plain neere *Eufham*, to encounter him; and noting the manner of the approach of his Army, ſaid to thoſe about him: *These men come bravely on, they leaue it not of themſelves, but of me.* And ſeeing himſelfe likely to be beſet, and overlaid with numbers, aduifeſ his friends *Hugh Spencer*, *Ralph Basset*, and others to ſhift for themſelves; which when he ſaw they refuſed to doe, then ſaid he, *Let us com-*

aduertainſ ſabre to Gbd, for our bodies are theirs, and ſo thidertaking the maine weight of the Battaille, porifiled bluidet id. And with him are ſlaiane his ſonne *Henry*, eleven other Barons with many thiſbands of common ſouldiers. At the iuſtant of his death, theſe hapneſſe: teribld rethunder, lightning and darkneſſe, as it gave them as mi ghilourous their hideous workes.

And ſo ends *Monsfort* this great Earle of *Leicester*, too great for a ſubject, which had he not bke ne, he might haue bke ne numbrd amoungſt the worthy of this time. Howſoeuer, the people which hothured, and followed him in hiſ life, would (upon the fame of hiſ miracles) haue worshipped him for a Saint after hiſ death; but it would not be permitted by Kings. And here this Battaille delivers the Captive King, (buttyed with the loſſe of ſome of hiſ owne as well as hiſ ſubjects bloud, by a wound caſually rece- red tharein) and kide him of hiſ Taylor *Monsfort*, whom hee hated and long ſcarde more than any man living, as hiſelfe confeſſed upon this accident: pain- ſing one day, (ſhortly after the Parliament at *Oxford*) upon *Thames*, there hapned a ſudden clap of thunders, wherewith the King was much affrighted, and willed preſently to be ſet on ſhore at the next landing, which was at *Duresme house*, where *Monsfort* then lay, who ſeeing the King arriving, hauſt downe to meete him, and perceiuing him to be troubled at the ſtorme, ſaide *There be needed not now to feare, the danger is paſt.* No: *Monsfort*, ſaide the King, *I ſcarde the morne than I doe, all the thunders and tempeſt of the Warre.* And now the King with the vi torious Prince, the redeemer of hiſ, and the Kingdome repayreſ to *Winchſeſter*, where a Parliament is convoked, and all who adhered to *Simon Monsfort* late diſinherited, and their estates confeſſedion to others at the Kings pleaſure. The Landors have their libe- ties taken from them. *Simon* and *Guy de Monsfort*, ſonnes of the Earle of *Lei- ceſter*, with the diſinherited Barons and others who eſcapede the Battaille of *Eufham*, take and defend the Isle of *Ely*. The Caſtle of *Killingworth* de- fended by the ſervants of the late Earle, althoſt it were in the heart of the Kingdome, endured the ſiege of halfe a year againſt the King and his Ar- my. In the end their Viualls fayling, they yeld upon condition to depart, their liues, members and goods ſaved. And it is worthy the note that we finde no execution of bloud except in open battaile, in all theſe combaſtions, or any no[n]e man to dye on a ſkaffold, either in this Kings reigne, or any other ſince William the first, which is now almoſt 300. years. Onely in Anno 26. of this King *William Marſe*, the ſonne of *Geffrey Marſe* a Noble man of *Ireland*, being apprehen- ded for Piracy and treaſon, was hanged, beheaded, and quartered; and is the firſt example of that kind of punishment we finde in our Histories.

After the Parliament at *Westminster* the King goes with an Army againſt the diſinherited Barons, and their partakers, which were many: reſolute and de- ſperate persons ſtrongly fastened together. And being at *Northampton*, *Simon* and *Guy de Monsfort*, by mediation of Friends, and promiſes of Favour, came in and ſubmiſſed themſelves to the King, who, at the eaſeſt ſuite of the Earle of *Cornwall* their Uncle, and the Lord *Phillip Baffet*, had reſtored them to their estates, but for *Gloceſter*, and others who (doubting their ſpirits) wrought to hold them downe, where their Fortune had layd them. In ſo much as they were faine in the end to flye the Kingdome, and worke their Fortunes other where, which they did, the yongeſt in *Italy*, the elder in *France*: Where there were propagatoſ of two great Families. Their mother was banished ſhortly after the battaille of *Eufham*. A Lady of eminent note, the daughter and ſiſter of a King, noſcen only by her Fortune, who from the Corone of miſerable glory, be- tooke her to the waile of quiet piety, and dyed a Nun at *Montarges* in *France*.

The Earle
Monsfort,
Dame
of *Lei- ceſter*,
O. 12. 22. 12.
12. 22. 12.
12. 22. 12.

12 66.

Anno
Reg. 50

18 Parliament
held at *Win- cheſter*.
All who took
part with
Monsfort diſ-
inherited.

Motions of
peace made to
the dis-inheri-
ted Lords.

1267.

Anno

Reg. 51.

The Earle of
Gloucester
revolts.

1268.
Parlia-
ment.

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The Earle of
Gloucester re-
conciled.

yeld. In the meane time the Earle of Gloucester, with his Army collected on the borders of Wales to ayde them, marched to London, where by the Citizens he was received: but the Legat who kept his residence in the Tower, so prevailed with him, as he againe renders himselfe to the King, to whom hee was afterward reconciled, by the mediation of the King of Romans, and the Lord Philip Basset, upon forfeiture of twelve thousand Markes, if ever after he shoulde raise any commotion.

This effected, the King goes with an Army into Wales, against Lewellin, for ayding simon Monfort and the Earle of Gloucester, in their late attempts against him; but his wrath being by the gift of thirty two thousand pounds sterlinc, appeased, peace is concluded betwixt them, and foure Cantreds, which had by right of Warre, beeene taken from him, restored.

And here was an end of the first Barons' Warres of England, wherein wee see what effects it wrought, how no side got but misery and vexation, whilst the one struggle to doe more than it shoulde, and the other to doe less than it ought, they both had the worst, according to the usall events of such imbroylements.

The next yeare after this appeasement, the Legat Ottobon lignes with the Croissado both the Kings sonnes, Edward and Edmond, the Earle of Gloucester, and divers Noblemen induced to undertake the Holy Warre by the solicitation of him; and the King of France, who notwithstanding his former calamities indured in that action, would againe adventure therein. So much either the desire of revenge, with the recovery of his fame and honour, or the hope of enjoying another World provoked him to forgoe this, & hast to his final destruction. And for that Prince Edward wanted meanes for his present Furnishment, this King of France lent him 30. thousand Markes, for which he morgaged unto him Gascoigny. An act, which subtler times would interpret to be rather of policy than piety, in this King, to ingage in such manner, and upon so especiall a caution, a young stirring Prince, likely in his absence to imbroyle his Estate at home, and to draw him along in the same adventure with himselfe, without any desire otherwise, eyther of his company or ayde, considering the inconveniences that stung these severall Nations heretofore by their incompetibility, in the same action; but here it were sinne to thinke they disguised their ends, or had other coverings for their designes than those through which they were seene; their spirits seeme to have beeene warmed with a Nobler flame.

And now whilst this preparation is in hand, King Henry labours to establish the Peace of the Kingdome, and reforme those excesses the Warre had bred, causing by proclamation *stealthe of Cattle to be made a crime capitall*, and the first that suffered for the same was one of Dunstable, who had stolne twelve Oxen from the inhabitants of Colne, and being pursued to Redburne, was by a Bayliffe of Saint Albans (according to the Kings Proclamation) condemned and beheaded. And the same yeare the King assembles his last Parliament at Marleborough, where the Statutes of that Title were inacted.

Neere two yeares it seemes to have beeene after the undertaking the Crosse before Prince Edward set fourth, a time long enough (if those resolutions would have beeene shakēn) to have bred an alteration of desire, but so strong was the current of this humour as no worldly respects could give any the least stoppage thereunto. Otherwise a Prince so well acquainted with action, so well understanding the World, so forward in years (being then thirty two) so neere the possession of a Kingdome, would not have left it, and an aged Father broken with dayes & travaile, to have betaken himselfe (with his deare and tender consort Elioner, & as it seems then young with child) to a voyage

1269.
Anno
Reg. 53

Prince Ed-
ward, his bro-
ther and o-
thers, under-
take the Holy
Warre.

Parlia-
ment at
Marleboroughe.

1271.
Anno
Reg. 55

voyage that could promise nothing but danger, toyle, misery and affliction. So powerfull are the operations of the minde, as they make men neglect the ease of their bodies, especially in times not dissolved with those softnings of Luxury and Idlenesse which unmanneres them. And wee cannot but admire the undauntable constancy of this Prince whom all the sad examples of others calamities (crossing even the beginning of action) could not deterre frō proceeding therein. For, first the King of France who with two of his sonnes, the King of Navarre and a mighty Army, being set out before, and by the way besieging the City of Tunis in Africa (possest then by the Sarazins that infested Christendome) perished miserably by the Pestilence that raged in his Army, and with him one of his sonnes and many of his Nobles, whereby alltheir enterprise was dasht and utterly overthrowne. Besides, Charles King of Sicile, brother to this King of France, who likewise came to ayde him, returning home, lost the greatest part of his Navy by tempest. Moreover, many of this Princes owne people were desirous to leave him, and returne home. Whereupon he is sayd *To have stricken his breast, and sivorne: that if all his followers forsooke him, he would yet enter Ptolemai or Acon, though but onely with his Horse-keeper Fowin.*

By which speech they were againe incensed to proceede; but yet his Cousen Henry sonne to the King of Romans, obtaines leave of him to depart, and was set on shore in Italy: where, notwithstanding he found what he sought to avoyde, Death; and was slaine in the Church at Viterbo (being at Divine Service) by his owne Cousen German Guy de Monfort (sonne to Simon late Earle of Leicester) in revenge of his Fathers Death. The newes of which unnaturall murthir seemes to hasten the end of Richard King of the Romans, who dyed shortly after, and the next yeare following, finished likewise Henry the third of England his Act, in the 65. of his age having Reigned 56. yeares; & 26. dayes. *A time that hath held us long, and taken up more than a tenth part from the Norman Invasion to this present; and yeilded notes of great variety with many examples of a crasie and diseased State, bred both by the inequality of this Princes manners, and the impatience of a stubborn Nobility.*

He had by his Wife Elioner six sonnes, whereof onely two survived him; Edward and Edmond; and two daughters, who lived to be married, Margaret the eldest to Alexander King of Scots: Beatrice the other to John the first, intituled Duke of Brittaine.

The end of the Life and Reigne of Henry the third.

The Life and Reigne of Edward the first.

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Pon the Death of Henry, the State assembles at the New Temple, and Proclaiimes his sonne Edward King, though they knew not whether he were living; swears Fealty unto him: causes a new Seale to be made; and appoints fit Ministers for the custody of his Treasure, and his Peace, whilst himselfe remaines in Palestine, where by an Assasin (making shew of delivering letters) he receives three dangerous wounds with a poysoned knife, whereof hee was hardly recuted. After three yeares travaille, from the time of his setting foorth, and many conflicts without any great effect, disappointed of his aydes, and his ends, hee leaves Acon (which hee went to relieve) well fortifyed and manned: returns homeward, lands in Sicile, is royally feasted by Charles the King thereof: passes through Italy, with all the honour could bee shewed him, both by the Pope and the Princes there.

The resolu-
tion of Prince
Edward.

1272.
Anno
Reg. 57

His issue.

1274.
Anno
Reg. 1.

Thence descends into *Burgogne*; where at the foote of the *Alpes*, he is met by the Nobility of *England*, and there challenged by the Earle of *Chalboun* (a fierce man at Armes) to a Turnement: Wherein againe he hazards his person to shew his valour, which may seeme to be more than became his Estate, and Dignity. From thence he comes downe into *France*, where he is sumptuously entertained, and feasted by *Phillip* the third (surnamed the *Hardy*) to whom hee doth homage for all the Territories hee held of that Crowne.

His coronati-
on.

1274.
Anno
Reg. 3.

Thence he departs into *Aquitaine*, where hee spent much time in settling his affaires. And after six yeares, from his first setting out, hee returns into *England*: Receives the Crowne (without which hee had beeene a King almoft three yeares) at the hands of *Robert* Archbifhop of *Canterbury*, in September 1275. And with him is *Elioner* his Queene likewise Crowned at *Westminster*. *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *John* Duke of *Brittaine*, (who both had married his Sisters) being present at the solemnity.

The spirit and abilities of this Prince shewed in the beginning of his Actions under his Father, after the great defeite he gave the Barons at *Evesham*: The prosecution of the dif-herited Mutiners of the Kingdome: The expoſition of his Person to all hazards, and trayaille: His ſingle combat with *Adam Gurdun* the Out-law neare *Farnham*: His great adventure and attempts in the East: and finally his long experience in the affaires of the World, with his maturity of yeares (being about thirty five before hee came to the Crowne) might well preſage what an able master hee would prove in the mannage thereof. And how by these advantages of *Opinion* and *Reputation*, he was likely (as hee did) to make a higher improvement of the Royalty, having wonne, or worne out, the greatest of thole who heretofore oppoſed the ſame. In ſo much as he ſeemes the firſt Conquerour, after the Conqueror that got the Domination of this State in that eminent manner, as by his government appears.

*Quicquid De-
cimam oī-
tum beniuem
Temporium
tam Clericorum
qui Licorum
Inuidito moe-
ad unguem
taxatam Rex
iniferat confi-
cert. Ma. 12. B.
His prece-
ding against
the Clergy.*

And even at his firſt Parliament, held shortly after his Coronation at *Westminster*, he made tryall of their patience; and had the fifteenth of all their goods (*Clergy* and *Lay*) granted unto him, without any noife as we hear of. The *Clergy* having yeelded before a Tenth for two yeares to be paid him, and his brother *Edmond* towards the charge of the *Holy Warre*. But, yet all this could not divert the Designes he had to abate the power Ecclesiasticall, which by expeſience of former times, hee found to be a part grownne too ſtrong for the Sovereignty, whenoever they combined with the *Lay Nobiliti*: And therefore now at firſt (whilſt he was in the exaltation both of opinion and estimation with the World) hee began to ſet upon their Priviledges. And in Anno Reg. 6. (to extend, ſaith the Monkish History, the Royall Authority) he deprived many famous Monasteries throughout *England* of their liberties, and tooke from the Abbot and Covent of *Westminster* the returne of Writs granted them by the Charter of his Father King *Henry* the third. The next yeare after he got to be enacted the Statute of *Mortmaine*, to hinder the encrease of their temporall poſſeſſions (which made them ſo powerfull) as being detrimentall to the Kingdome, and the Military ſervice of the ſame. In the ſecond Statute of *Westminster*, he defalked the Iurisdiction of Ecclesiasticall Judges. He left not here, but afterward growing more upon them, he required the moety of all their goods, as well Temporall as Spirituall, for one yeare: which (though it put them into extreme perplexity and griefe) they yet were faine to yeeld to his demand. And at the firſt propounding thereof, one Sir *John Haigering* Knight stands up amongst them,

Sir. West.

as they were assembled in the Refectory of the Monkes at *Westminster* (and ſayd) Reverend Fathers, if any here will contradict the Kings demand in this buſineſſe, let him ſtand out in the middeft of the Assembly, that his perfon may bee knowne, and ſtone, as one guilty of the Kings Peace. At which ſpeech they all ſate mute. So much were the times altered ſince the late Reigne of the Father, wherein ſuch a buſineſſe could not have ſo paſſed. But now this Active King being come home, and having composed his affaires abroad, muſt needs be working, both to ſatisfie his owne deſire in amplifying his power, and entertaining his people in thofe times incompatible of reſt; and therefore ſome action muſt be taken in hand.

Wales, that lay neareſt the danger of a ſuperior Prince, and had ever ſtrugled for liberty, and the rule of a Native Government, had alwayes beeene the Receptacle, and ayde of the Rebellions of *England*: had ever Combi ned with *Scotland* to diſturb the peace, and government thereof: Having never her borders without blood and miſchiefe, was an apt Subject to be wrought upon in this time. And occasions are eaſily taken, where there is a purpoſe to quartell, especially with an Inferior: *Leoline*, now Prince of that Province, who had ſo long held in the fire of the late Civill Warres of *England* (and dearely payde for it) having refuſed upon ſummons to come to the Kings Coronation, and after to his firſt Parliament, alledged, he well remembred how his Father *Griſſin* burst his necke out of the Tower of *London*, for which he brooked not that place, and therefore returned answer, That in any other, upon *Hostages* given him, or *Commissioners* ſent to take his Fealty, he would (as it ſhould please the King) be ready to render it. This gave occaſion that King *Edward* the next yeare after, goes with a powerfull Army: Enters his Country with Fire and Sword, in ſo fierce manner, as *Leoline* (unable to reſiſt) ſues for Peaſe, and obtaines it, but upon thofe conditions, as made his Principality little diſferent from the tenour of a Subject. And beſides he was fined in fifty thouſand pound ſterling, and to pay 1000. pounds *Per Annum* for what he held, which was but for his owne life. But yet the King to gratifie him in ſomething that might be aye to this peace, restored unto him *Elioner* (daughter to *Simon* *Montfort* late Earle of *Leicester*) who, with her brother *Elmericke* had bee late taken Prisoner by certayne Ships of *Bristol*, as ſhee was paſſing out of *France* into *Wales*, to be made the miſerable Wife of this unfortunate Prince. Whose reſtraint and affliction might perhaps be a motive, the rather to incline him to this lowneſſe of Submission, and accord: Which, as it was made by Force (an urene contractor of Covenants) ſo was it by diſdaine, as ill an obſerver; ſoone broken. And eyther the ill administration of Iuſtice upon the Marches (the perpetuall Fire-matches of bordering Princes) or the ever working paſſion of deſire of Liberty in the Welsh, threw open againe (within three yeares) this ill infenſed cloſure. And out is *Leoline* in Armes; ſurprizes the Caſtles of *Flint* and *Rutland*, with the perfon of the Lord *Clifford* ſent Iuſticiar into thofe parts; and commits all Acts of Hostility. With him joynes his brother *David*, on whom King *Edward* (to make him his, finding him of a more ſtirring ſpirit) had beſtowed, after the laſt accord, the honour of Knight-hood: matched him to the daughter of the Earle of *Derby*, a rich Widdow: and given him in ſtead of his other lands, the Caſtle of *Denbigh* with 1000. pounds *per Annum*. All which graces could not yet hold him backe from thofe powerfull inclinations of Nature: The ryding his country, the partaking with his Brother, and the attempting of Liberty.

King *Edward* adverſized of this, Revolt (being at the Vixes in *Wiffshire*) prepares

An occaſion
taken for iu-
duing of
maces.

1276.
Anno
Reg. 4.

1278.
Anno
Reg. 6.

prepares an Army to repprese it. But before his setting foorth, he privately goes to visite his Mother Queen *Elioner* living in the Nunnery at *Amisbury*, with whom whilst he conferred, there was brought into the Chamber one who faignd himselfe (being blind) to have received his sight at the Tombe of *Henry the third*. As soone as the King saw the man, he formerly knew him to be a most notorious lying Villaine. *And wished his Mother in no case to believe him.* His Mother, who much rejoiced to heare of this Miracle (for the glory of her husband) grew suddenly into rage, and willed the King to avoid her Chamber. The King obeys; and going forth meets with a Clergyman, to whom he tells the story of this Impostor, and merrily sayd, *He knew the Justice of his Father to bee such, that hee would rather pull out the eyes (being whole) of such a wicked wretch, than restore them to their sight.*

1283.
Anno
Reg. 11.

The death of
Leoline the
last of the
Welsh Princes.

The Execu-
tion of *David*
his brother at
Shrewsbury,
the last that
kinde.

The death of
the Prince *Al-*
phonius.

Wales united
to England.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* (to whom the *Welsh* had before sent a Roll of their grievances, and the causes that drove them to revolt) of himselfe goes, and labours to bring in *Leoline*, and his brother to a resubmission and stay the ruine which he foresaw would light upon the Nation. But nothing could he effect, certaine pety deserts *Leoline* had given to the *English*: the instigation of his people: the conceit of a Prophecie of *Merlin* (that *Ginne of Errour*) how he should shortly be Crowned with the Diademe of *Brute*; so overweighed this poore Prince, as he had no care for Peace, and shortly after no head; the same being cut off (after her was slaine in battaile by a common Soldier) and sent to King *Edward*. Who (as if his death were not sufficient without his reproach) caused the same to be crowned with Ivie, and set upon the Tower of *London*. This was the end of *Leoline* the last of the *Welsh* Princes, betrayed (as they write) by the men of *Breth*.¹⁰⁷

Shortly after to finish this worke of blood, is *David* his brother taken in *Wales*, and judgeth in *England* to an ignominious death. First drawne at a horse tayle about the City of *Shrewsbury*, then beheaded, the Trunke of his Body devide, his Heart, and Bowels burnt, his head sent to accompany that of his Brothers on the Tower of *London*, his foure quarters to foure Citties, *Bristol*, *Northampton*, *Torke*, and *Winchester*: a manifold execution, and the first shewed in that kinde to this kingdome, in the person of the sonne of a Prince, or any other Nobleman, that we reade of in our History.

But this example made of one, of another, grew after to be usual to this Nation. And even this King (under whom it began) had the blood of his owne, and his brothers race, miserably shed on many a scaffold. And just at the sealing of this Conquest, *Alphonse* his eldest sonne of the age of twelve yeares (a Prince of great hope) is taken away by death. And *Edward*, lately borne at *Carnarvan* (an infant, uncertaine how to proove) his Heire of the Kingdome; and the first of the *English* intituled (*Prince of Wales*) whose unnatural destruction, we shall likewise heare of in his time.

But thus came *Wales* (all that small portion left unto the *Brittaines* the auncient possessours of this Isle) to be united to the *Crowne of England*, Anno Reg. 11. And strange it is how it could so long subsist of it selfe, as it did; having little or no ayde of others; little or no shipping (the hereditary defect of their Ainestors) no Alliance, no confederacion, no intelligence with any forraigne Princes of power out of this Isle: and being by so potent a Kingdome as this, so often invaded, so often reduced to extremitie, so eagerly pursued, almost by every King, and sayd to have beeene (by many of them) subdued, when it was not; must needs shew the worthinesse of the Nation, and their noble courage to preserve their liberty. And how it was now

at last gotten, and upon what ground we see; But the effect prooves better than the cause, and hath made it good. For in such Acquisitions as these, the sword is not to give an Account to *Justice*; the publicke benefit makes amends. Those miserable mischiefs that afflicted both Nations come heereby extinguished. The Division and Plurality of States in this Isle, having ever made it the Stage of blood, and confusion: as if Nature that had ordained it but one- peece, would have it to be governed but by one Prince, and one Law, as the most absolute glory and strength thereof, which otherwise it could never enjoy. And now this prudent King (no lesse provident to preserve than subdue this Province) established the government thereof according to the Lawes of *England*, as may be seen by the Statute of *Rutland*, Anno Reg. 12.

This worke effected and settled, King *Edward* passes over into *France* (upon notice of the Death of *Phillip le Hardy*) to renue and confirme such conditions, as his State required in those parts with the new King *Phillip the fourth* (intituled *le Bel*) to whom he doth homage for *Aquitaine*, having before quitted his claime to *Normandy* for ever. And afterwards accommodates the differences betweene the Kings of *Sicile* and *Arragon* in *spaine* (to both of whom he was allied) and redeemes *Charles* entituled Prince of *Achaia* (the sonne of *Charles* King of *Sicile*) Prisoner in *Arragon*, paying for his ransome thirty thousand pounds.

After three yeares and a halfe being abroad, hee returns into *England*, which must now supply his Coffers emptied in this Voyage. And occasion is given (by the generall complaints made unto him of the ill administration of *Justice* in his absence) to inflict penalties upon the chiefe Ministers thereof; whose manifest corruptions the hatred of the people to men of that Profession (apt to abuse their Science, and Authority) the Necessity of reforming so grievous a mischiefe in the Kingdome, gave easie way thereunto by the Parliament then assembled; wherein, upon due examinations and prooef of their extortions, they are fined to pay to the King these summes following.

First Sir *Ralph Hengham* chiefe *Justice* of the higher Bench, seven thousand Markes: Sir *John Loveton* *Justice* of the lower Bench, three thousand Marques. Sir *William Bromton* *Justice* 6000. Marques. Sir *Solomon Rochefer* foure thousand Marques. Sir *Richard Bayland* 4000. Marques. Sir *Thomas Sodington* two thousand Marques. Sir *Walter Hopton* two thousand Marques: These foure last were *Justices Itinerants*. Sir *William Saham* three thousand Marques. Robert *Lithbury* Master of the *Rolles* one thousand Marques. Roger *Leicester*, one thousand Marques. Henry *Bray Escheater*, and Judge for the *Iewes*, one thousand Marques. But Sir *Adam Stratton* Chiefe Baron of the *Exchequer* was fined in 34000. Marques. And *Thomas Wayland* (found the greatest delinquent, and of the greatest substance) hath all his goods and whole estate Confiscated to the King. Which were it but equall to that of Sir *Adam Stratton*, these fines bring to the Kings Coffers above one hundred thousand Marques; which, at the rate (as money goes now) amountsto above three hundred thousand Marques. A mighty treasure to be gotten out of the hands of so few men. Which, how they could amasse in those dayes, when Litigation and Law had not spread it selfe into those infinite wreathings of contention (as since it hath) may seeme strange even to our greater getting times. But peradventure now the number of Lawyers, being growne bigger than the Law (as all trades of profit come over-pestered with multitude of Traders) is the cause (that like a huge River dispersed into many little Rilles)

Sir *Ralph Hengham* a
Chiefe Com-
missioner for
the govern-
ment of the
Kingdome in
the Kings ab-
sence.
Officers fined
for bribery &
extortion.

The Banish-
ment of the
Iewes.

Rilles) their substances are of a smaller proportion, than those of former times; and Offices, now of Iudicature peradventure more piously executed.

Of nolesse grievance, the King the next yeare after eased his people, by the Banishment of the Iewes; for which the Kingdome e willingly granted him a Fifteenth. Having before (in Anno Reg. 9.) offered a fifth part of their goods to have them expelled: but then the Iewes gave more, and so stayed till this time, which brought him a greater benefit by confiscating all their immoveables with their Talleis, and obligations which amounted to infinite Value. But now hath he made his last commodity of this miserable people, which having beeene never under other cover than the Will of the Prince, had continually served the turne in all the necessary occasions of his predecessors, but especially of his Father and himselfe. And in these reformatiōnes that are easfull, and pleasing to the State in generall; the Iustice of the Prince is more noted, than any other motive, which may be for his profit. And howsoevr some particular men suffer (as some must ever suffer) yet they are the fairest, and safest wayes of getting: in regard the hatred of the abuses, not onely discharges the Prince of all imputation of rigour, but renders him more beloved and respected of his people. And this King, having much to doe for mony (comming to an empty Crowne) was driven to all shifts possible to get it, and great supplies wee finde, he had already drawne from his subjects. A \$ in the first yeare of his Reigne, Pope Gregory procured him a Tenth of the Clergy for two yeares; besides a Fifteenth of them and the Temporality. In the third likewise another Fifteenth of both. In the fifth, Twentieth of their goods towards the Welsh Warres. In the seaventh the old Mony was called in, and new coyned in regard it had beeene much defaced by the Iewes, for which 297. were at one time executed at London, and this brought him in a great benefit. In Anno Reg. 8. seeking to examine mens Titles to their Lands, by a Writ of Quo Warranto (which opposed by the Earle Warraine, who drew out his Sword upon the Writ, saying, *How by the same he held his Land, and thereby would make good his Tenure*) the King desists and obtaines a fifteenth of the Clergy. In the eleventh, hee had a thirtieth of the Temporality, and a twentieth of the Clergy for the Welsh Warres. In the thirteenth, Escuage, forty shillings for every Knights Fee for the same purpose. In the fourteenth, hee had a thousand Markes of certaine Merchants fined for false Weights. In the seventeenth, those fines fore-declared of the Judges. In the eighteenth, this confiscation of Iewes, and a fifteenth of the English. After this Anno Reg. 19. pretending a Voyage to the Holy Land, the Clergy grants him an eleventh part of all Mooveables, and shortly after the Pope procures him a tenth for six yeares to be collected in England, Scotland and Ireland, and layd up in Monasteries untill he were entred into Marc Maggior. But he made the Collectors pay him the mony gathered for three yeares without going so farre, having occasion to use it at home, about the purchase of a new Kingdome.

1290.
Anno
Reg. 17

For the Crowne of Scotland upon the death of King Alexander, and of the daughter of his daughter Margaret, who was to inherit) was now in controveſie. Six Competitors pretend title thereunto, all descending from David Earle of Huntingdon, younger brother to William King of Scots, and great Uncle to this late King Alexander. This title King Edward takes upon him to decide, pretending a right of Superiority from his Ancestors over that Kingdome. The Scots which swayed the Interregnum, are constrainyd for

The occasion
of his Warres
with Scotland.

King Edward
chosen by the
Scots to arbit-
rate the
right of the
pretenders to
that Crowne.

for avoyding further inconveniences, to make him Arbitre thereof, and the six Competitors bound to stand to his Award. Two are especially found; betweene whom the Right lay: John Baliol Lord of Galloway, and Robert Bruce: the one descending from an elder Daughter, the other from a sonne of a younger Daughter of Alan, who had married the eldest Daughter of this David, brother to King William. The Controveſie held long. Twelve of eyther Kingdome learned in the Lawes, are elected to debate the fame at Barwicke: All the best Civilians in the Universities of France, are follicitated to give their opinions, the differences, and perplexednesse whereof made the decision more difficult: According to the Nature of Litigation, that ever begers rather Doubts than Resolutions, and never knowes well nor certainly how to make an end.

King Edward, the better to sway this businesse by his presence, takes his Journey Northward, and whilst he sought to compasse greater Felicity, he lost the better part of what he had in this World, his deare consort Elioner (who had ever attended him in all his Fortunes, the Paragon of Queenes, and the honour of Womanhood: Who is sayd to have succorded the poyson out of the wound given him by the Assasin in the East, when no other meanes could preserve his life) dyed by the way in Lincolnshire. With whose Corpes, in extreme griefe he returns backe to Westminſter, causing (at all especiall places where it rested by the Way) goodly engraven Croffes, with her Statue to be erected. As at Stamford, Waltham, West-chespe, Charing and others, gratefull Monuments of his affection, and her renowned Faithfulnesse.

Her Funeralls performed, backe he returns to his Scottish businesse: And now six yeares it was since the Death of King Alexander, and much time having beeene spent, and nothing concluded in this controveſie: King Edward that would bee ſure (whooever prevailed) to have the hand that should make him, deales privately with Bruce (who had the weaker Title but the more friends) and promises him, if he would yeeld Fealty and Homage to the Crowne of England, he would invest him in that of Scotland. Bruce answers, *He was not ſo desirous to rule, as thereby to infringe the Liberties of his Country.* Then with the like offer hee ſets upon Baliol, who having better right but leſſe love of the people, and more greedy of a Kingdome, than honour, yeelds thereunto:is Crowned King at Scone: hath Fealty done him all of the Chiefe Nobility, except Bruce. Comes to New Castle upon Tine where King Edward then lay; and there (with many of his Nobles) ſweares Fealty, and did Homage unto him; as his Sovereigne Lord. Which Act, as hee thought done to ſecure him, overthrew him. For being little beloved before, hereby hee became leſſe: ſuch as stood for Bruce, and others of the Nobility (more tender of the preservation of their Countries liberty) grew into Stomacke againſt him; as having not onely discontented them in this Act, but ſhortly after in his Justice, in the case of the Earle of Fife, one of the ſix Gouvernours in the time of Anarchy, who had beeene ſlaine by the Family of Alberneth. And the brother of this Earle now prosecuted in Law, before the King Baliol in his high Court of Parliament (where having no right done him, King Baliol giving Judgement on the ſide of the Alberneths) the wronged Gentleman appeals to the Court of the King of England. King Baliol is thither summoned: appears, fits with King Edward in his Parliament till his cauſe was to bee triyed, and then is hee cited by an Officer to arise and ſtand at the place appoin-

Scottish Hi-
ſtory.

Baliol made
King of Scot-
land.

1294
Anno
Reg. 21

The Life and Reigne of Edward the first.

Baliol discon-
tenteth returns
into Scotland.

1296.
Anno
Reg. 23

The occasion
of the wars be-
tweene Eng-
land and Scot-
land.

appointed for pleading : Hee craves to answer by a Procurator : it is denied: then himselfe arises, and descends to the ordinary place, and defends his cause.

With which Indignity (as he tooke it) hee returns home, with a breast full charged with indignation : Meditates revenge, renewes the Ancient League with France : Confirmes it with the marriage of his sonne Edward with a daughter of Charles brother to King Philip, glad in regard of late offences taken against the King of England, to embrace the same: Which done, Baliol defies King Edward; renounces his Allegiance as unlawfully done, being not in his power (without the consent of the State) to doe any such act. Hereupon brake out that mortall dissencion betweene the two Nations (which during the reigne of the three last Scottish Kings had held faire correspondence together) that consumed more Christian blood, wrought more spoyle, and destruction, and continued longer than ever quarrell we reade of did betweene any two people of the World. For hee that beganne it, could not end it. That Rancor which the Sword had bred, and the perpetually-working desire of Revenge of wrongs (that ever beget wrongs, lasted almost three hundred yeares: And all the Successors of this King (even to the last, before this blessed Vnion) have had their shares more or lesse in this miserable affliction, both to their great expence of treasure, and extreme hinderance in all other their desighnes. Although the intention of this great and Martiall King, for reducing this whole Isle under one government, was Noble, and according to the Nature of power, and greatness, that ever seekes to extend it selfe as farre as it can: Yet all such Actions hath much of iniquity, so had this, and we see it was not force or the Sword could effect it. God had fore-decreed to make it his owne worke by a cleaner way, and ordained it for an unstayned hand to set it together in peace, that it might take the more sure, and lasting hold, which otherwise it could never have done. Violence may joyne Territories, but never affections together, which onely must grow voluntary, and be the worke of it selfe. And yet no doubt it was in the designe of this King to have obtained it in the fairest manner he could. As first shewes his seeking to match his sonne Edward with Margaret daughter to the King of Norway, grand-childe, and heire to the last King Alexander, who (dying an Infant soone after her Grand-father) disappointed his hopes that way: and drove him to have recourse to his Sovereignty, which being opposed, he was forced to take the way of Violence, both to maintaine his owne honour, and to effect what he had begunne: Whereof the miserable events were such, as now wee may well spare their memory, and be content those bloody Relations should bee razed out of all Record; but that they serve to shew us the woefull calamities of our separation, and the comfortable blessings wee enjoy by this our happy Vnion. Neyther doth it now concerne us to stand upon any points of Honour, whether of the Nations did the bravest exploits in those time, seeing who had the better was beaten, nether did the overcommer Conquer, when he had done what he could: That little which was gayned, cost so much more than it was worth, as it had bee better not to have beeene had at all. And if any side had the Honour, it was the invaded Nation, which being the weaker, and smaller, seemes never to have beeene subdued, though often over-come: Continuing (notwithstanding all their miseries) resolute to preserve their Liberties; which never people of the world more Nobly defended, against so Potent, and rich a Kingdome as this, by the which, without an admirable hardinesse, and

The Life and Reigne of Edward the first.

and constancie, it had beeene impossible but they must have beeene brought to an utter consternation.

For all what the power of this kingdome could doe (which then put all the strength to doe what it could) was shewed in this Kings time: Who now (upon this defection of King Baliol, and his League made with France) counter-leagues with all the Princes hee could draw in, either by gifts or alliance to strengthen his party abroad. As first with Guy Earle of Flanders, with whose Daughter he seekes to match his Sonne Edward. Then with Adolph de Nassau the Emperour, to whom he sends fifteene thousand pounds Sterling, to recover certaine lands of the Empire which Adolph claimed in France: Hee had likewise married one of his Daughters to the Duke of Barre, who pretends Title to Champaigne, another to John Duke of Brabant: All which, with many other confining Princes, hee sets upon the King of France; who had (for certaine spoyles committed on the coast of Normandy by the English, and no redresse obtained) summoned King Edward, as owing Homage to that Crowne, to appear and answer it in his Court; which his refusing to doe, is by an Arrest condemned to forfeite all his Territories in France: And an Army is presently sent forth to seize upon the same, led by Charles de Valois, and Arnolds Neel Constable of France. Burdeaux with divers other Pecces of importance are taken and fortifyed. To the recovery whereof, the King of England sends over his Brother Edmond Earle of Lancaster, the Earles of Lincoln and Richmond, with eight and twenty Banners, seven hundred men at Armes, and a Navie of three hundred and sixty Sayle. And notwithstanding all this mighty charge and Forces imployed in those parts; King Edward sets upon King Baliol, (refusing upon Summons to appear at his Court at New Castle, standing upon his owne defence) and enters Scotland with an Army sufficient to conquer al faire nigher kingdome, consisting of fourteene thousand men at Armes on Horse, and thirty thousand Foote, besides five hundred Horse, and onethousand Foote of the Bishop of Duresme: intending here to make speedy worke that he might afterward passe over Sea to ayde his confederates, and be revenged of the King of France.

Barwickie is first wonne with the death of fifteehe thousand Scots, (our Writers report more) but nothing is more uncertaine than the number of the slaine in Battailles; and after that the Castles of Dunbarre, Roxborough, Edenhorough, Sterling, and Saint Johns Towthes were wonne or yeelded unto him: King Baliol sues for peace, submits himselfe, takes againe his Oath of Fealty to King Edward, as his Sovereigne Lord. Which done, a Parliament for Scotland was held at Barwickie, wherein the Nobility did likewise Homage unto him, confirming the same by their Charter under their Hand and Seales. Onely William Douglass refuseth, content rather to endure the misery of a prison, than yeeld to the subjection of England: King Baliol (Notwithstanding his submission) is sent prisoner into England, after his fourteene years dignity, I cannot say Reigne: For it seemes hee had but little power, and King Edward returnes from this expedition, leaving John Warrein Earle of Surrey and Sussex, Warden of all Scotland, Hugh Cressingham Treasurer, and Ormest Chife Justice, with Commission to take in his name, the Homages, and Fealties of all such as held Lands of that Crowne.

And here this conquest might seeme to have beeene effected, which yet was not. It must cost infinite more blood, travaille, and treasure, and all to as little effect: And now the French busynesses (that require speedy helpe) are wholly

King Edwards
combines with
other Princes.

An Army sent
into France.

Another into
Scotland.

1297.
Anno
Reg. 24

King Edwards
Victories in
Scotland.

The Life and Reigne of Edward the first.

1298.
Anno
Reg. 25

wholly intended. For which King Edward calls a Parliament at Saint Edmunds Bury, wherein the Citizens and Burgesses of good Townes granted the eighth part of their goods, and other of the people a twelfth part. But the Clergy (upon a prohibition from Pope Boniface, that no Tallage or Imposition, laid by any Prince, upon whatsoever appertained to the Church, should be paid) absolutely refuse to give any thing. Which prohibition may seeme to have beeene produced by themselves, in regard of the many Levies lately made upon the Estate Ecclesiasticall. As in Anno Reg. 22. they paid the moiety of their goods : of which the Abbey of Canterbury yeelded 596 pounds 7 shillings and 10 pence ; and besides furnished six horses for the sea-coasts. This Leavy, as Stow notes in his collection, amounted to sixe hundred thousand pounds. And in Anno Reg. 23. the King seized into his hands all the Priories Aliens, and their goods. Besides, he had a loane of the Clergy, which amounted to 100 thousand pounds, whereof the Abbot of Bury paid 655 pounds.

The King puts the Clergy out of his protection.

Notwithstanding now, upon this their refusall, the King puts the Clergy out of his protection, whereby they were to have no Justice in any of his Courts (a straine of State beyond any of his predecessors) which so amazed them being exposed to all offences and injuries whatsoever, & no meanes to redresse themselves, as the Archbishop of Yorke, with the Bishops of Durham, Eley, Salisburie, Lincolne, yeelded to lay downe in their Churches the fifth part of all their goods, towards the maintenance of the Kings Warres: whereby they appeased his wrath, and were received into grace. But the Archbishop of Canterbury, by whose animation the rest stood out, had all his goods seised on, and all the Monasteries within his Diocese and part of Lincolne, taken into the Kings hands, and Wardens appointed to minister onely necessaries to the Monkes, converting the rest to the Kings use. At length by such suite, the Abbots, and Priests giving the fourth part of their goods, redeeme themselves, and the Kings favour. Thus will martiall Princes have their tunies served by their Subjects in the times of their needes, howsoever they oppose it.

The Lordes refuse to goe to Gascoigny except the King went in person.

Mas. west.

During this contract with the Clergy, the King calls a Parliament of his Nobles at Salisburie, without admission of any Church-men; wherein, He requires certaine of the great Lords to geue unto the Wutes of Gascoigne, which required a present supply, upon the death of his brother Edmond, who having spent much Treasure and time in the siege of Bordeaux, without any success, retires to Bayon, then in possession of the English, and there ends his life. But they all making their excuses every man for himselfe, the King in great anger threatened, they should either goe, or he would give their lands to others that should Wherenpon Humfriy Bohun Earle of Hereford high Constable, and Roger Bigod Earle of Norfolke Marshall of England, make their declaration, that if the King went in person they would attend him, otherwise not. Which answer more offends, and being urged againe: The Earle Marshall protested he would willingly goe with the King, and march before him in the Vantgard, as by right of inheritance he ought to doe. But the King told him plainly he should goe with any other, although himselfe went not in person. I am not so bound, said the Earle, neither will I take that journey without you. The King swore by God, Sir Earle you shall goe or hang. And I sware by the same oath, I will neither goe nor hang, said the Earle, and so without leave departs.

Shortly after, the two Earles assembled many Noblemen, and others their friends to the number of thirty Bannerets, so that they were fifteen hundred

The Life and Reigne of Edward the first.

195

dred men at Armes well appointed, and stood upon their owne guard. The King like a prudent Prince who knew his times, prosecutes them not as then, but lets the matter passe: In regard that both his busynesse in France, and the pressing necessity of ayding his Confederates (whereon his Honour and whole estate abroad depended) called him over into Flanders, which the King of France had now invaded; pretending the same Title of Sovereignty to that Province, as King Edward did to Scotland. And having had intelligence of the intended Alliance, and other desigues of the Earle Guy, sends for him (as if knowing nothing thereof) to come with his Wife and Daugther to make merry with him at Paris: where instead of feasting, he makes him prisoner, and takes from him his Daughter, in regard he fought, being his vassall, to match her to the Sonne of his capitall Enemy. The Earle excuses it the best he could, and by much mediation is released, and suffered to depart, but without his Daughter: Of whose surprise and detention (contrary to the Law of Nations) hee complaines to the Pope, and other Princes, who earnestly urge the release of the young Lady, but all in vain; and thereupon this Earle (presuming on the ayde of his Confederates) takes Armes, and defies the King of France: who now comes with an Army of sixty thousand against him; which caused the King of England to make what speede he could, to releve this distressed Earle, and to leave all his other busynesses at home in that broken estate which he did, the Scots in revolt, and his owne people in discontent. For which yet he tooke the best order he could, leaving the administration of the Kingdome during his absence to the Prince, & certaine especiaill Councillors, as the Bishop of London, the Earle of Warwick, the Lord Reginald Gray and Clifford, and besides, to recover the Clergy received the Archbishop of Canterbury into favour.

And being ready now to take ship, the Archbishops, Bishops, Earles, Barons, and the Commons send him in a Roll of the generall greevances of his Subjects: Concerning his Taxes, Subsidies, and other Impositions; with his seeking to force their services by unlawfull courses: his late impost laid of forty shillings upon every sack of wooll, being before but halfe a Marke, estimating the Wooll of England to a fift part of all the substance thereof. The King sends answere, that he could not alter any thing without the advise of his Councell, which were not now about him: And therfore required them, seeing they would not attend him in this journey (which they absolutely refused to doe though hee went in person, unless he had gone into France or Scotland) that they would yet doe nothing in his absence prejudicall to the peace of the kingdome. And that upon his returne, he would set all things in good order as shoule be fit.

And so with 500 Sayle, eightene thousand men at Armes, hee puts out for this journey, wherein Fortune shewed him, how he should not be alwayes his: For, contrary to his expectation he found the Country of Flanders distract into popular factions; a rich and proud people, who though they were willing to ayde their Prince, and defend their Liberties (which they respetted more than their Obedience) yet would they not be commanded otherwise than themselves pleased. And now the King of France, daily getting upon them (having wonne Lisle, Dony, Courtray, Burges, and Dam; and the Emperour Adolph failing of his alde and personall assistance, as unintercessed confederates often doe, especially having received their gage before hand, as had this Emperour to the summe of 100 thousand Markes) drave the King of England into great perplexity, and held him within long delays, to his extreme travaille and expences: which forced him to send over for more supply of Treasure, and give order for a Parliament to bee held at

The French King invites the Earle of Flanders to Paris, & there imprisons him.

The French invades Flanders.

This Roll of grieuances is recorded by Tho. Waviz.

1299.
Anno
Reg. 26

King Edward passes over into Flanders, to the ayde of the Earle Guy.

A Parliament held at Yorke in the absence of the King.

The Gantois takes Armes against the English. King Edward in danger. Hee returns into England.

The History of France.

1300.

Anno Reg. 27

King Edward prosecutes his Scottish busynesse. William Wallace animates the Scots against the subjection of England.

Yorke by the Prince, and such as had the manage of the State in his absence. Wherein, for that he would not be disappointed, he condiscends to all such Articles as were demanded concerning the great Charter: promising, from thence-forth never to charge his Subjects otherwise than by their consents in Parliament, and to pardon such as had denied to attend him in this journey. For which the Commons of the Realme granted him the ninth pennie of their goods: The Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Clergy of the Province the tenth penny: Yorke and his Province the fifth: so the Kings instant wants are releeved, and the kingdome satisfied for a present shifft. But it is not well with a State where the Prince and people seeke but to obtaine their severall ends, and worke upon the advantages of each others necessities: for as it is unsincere, so it is often unsuccesfull, and the good so done hurts more than it pleasures.

The King thus supplied, stayes all this Winter in Gaunt, where his people committing many outrages, so exasperates the Gantois, as they tooke Armes, made head against them, slew many, and put the Kings person in great danger: so that, doe what the Earle Guy and himselfe could to appease them, in satisfying such as had received wrong, and giving the rest faire words, hee hardly could escape safe out of the Countrey, which rather desired to have the English commodities, than their companies. This was the successe of his journey into Flanders, which hee leaves at the Spring of the yeare, having concluded a truce with the King of France for two yeares. And the poore Earle Guy left to himselfe, is shortly after made the prey of his Enemy, and is prisoner in Paris; where hee and his daughter both dyed of grieve. And Flanders is reduced to a possession, though not to the subjection of the King of France. For after they had received him for their Lord, his exactions and oppressions upon them, contrary to their ancient Liberties so armed the whole people, being rich and mighty, as they gave France the greatest wound that ever before it received at one blow; which was at the famous Battell of Courtray, wherein the Earle of Artoise Generall of the Army, Arnold de Neel Constable of France, and all the Leaders with twelve thousand Gentlemen were slaine. And to shew what the King of France got, by seeking to attaine this Sovereignty of Flanders, as well as wee shall heare of the King of England's getting upon Scotland for the same title: It is recorded in their Histories, that in the space of eleven years, this quarrell cost the lives of a hundred thousand French men. Besides, it drove the King likewise to consume the substances of his people, as well as their blood, and to loade them with new impositions, as that of Mallesoste and the tenth Denier upon liure of all Merchandises, which in the Collection bred great out-cries, and dangerous seditions among his subjects: And these were the fruits of these great attempters.

Now for King Edward of England, he presently after his returne, falls a new upon Scotland, which in his absence had beaten his Officers, and people almost out of the Countrey, slaine Sir Hugh Cressingham with 6000 English: recovered many Castles, and regained the Towne of Berwick. And all by the animation and conduct of William Wallace, a poore private Gentleman (though nobly descended) who seeing his Countrey without a Head, and thereby without a Heart (all the great men either in captivity, or subjection) assemblies certaine of as poore and desperate estate as himselfe, and leads them to attempt upon whatsoever advantages they could discover, to annoy the English. And having therein good succeſſe, it so increased both his courage and company, as hee afterwards comes to bee the generall

Guardian

Guardian of the whole kingdome: leads their Armies, effects those great defeits upon the Enemie, and was in possibility to have absolutely redeemed his Countrey from the subjection of England, had not some private emulation amongst themselves, and the speedie comming of King Edward with all his power prevented him. So much could the spirit of one brave man worke, to set up a whole Nation upon their feete, that lay utterly cast downe. And as well might hee at that time have gotten the Dominion for himselfe, as the place hee had; but that hee held it more glory to preserve his Countrey, than to get a Crowne. For which he hath his immortall honour; and whatsoever praise can be given to meeke Virtue, must bee ever due to him.

And now King Edward, to bring his worke neare together, removes his Exchequer and Courts of Justice to Yorke, where they continued above sixe yeares. And thither calls he a Parliament, requiring all his Subjects that held of him by Knights service, to be ready at Roxborough by a peremptory day: where are assembled three thousand men at Armes on barded horses, and foure thousand other armed men on horse without bards, with an Army on foote answerable, consisting most of Welsh and Irish: besides, five hundred men at Armes out of Gasconie, and with this power makes he his second expedition into Scotland.

The Earles of Hereford and Norfolke, notwithstanding their former contempts, attend him. And although hee were thus girt with all this strength, and in the midst of his mightinesse, they urge the ratifications of two Charters, and their pardons: which they held not sufficient to secure them, in regard the King was out of the Realme at the late granting thereof. The Bishop of Duresme, the Earles of Surrey, Warwick, and Gloucester undertooke for the King, that after he had subdued his Enemies and was returned, hee should satisfie them therein. And so these two Earles with the Earle of Lincoln, led his Vauntguard at the famous Battaille of Fonkirke, which the King of England got, wherein are reported to be slainie 200 Knights, and fortie thousand foote of the Scots. But William Wallace with some few escaped to make more worke.

And here againe that kingdome might seeme as if quite overcome: Most of the Estates of the Earles and Barons of Scotland (with their Titles) that had stood out, were bestowed on the English Nobility, to make them the more eger to maintaine and prosecute this Conquest. And a Parliament is called at Saint Andrewes, where all the great men of that kingdome (except onely Wallace) againe sweare fealty to the King of England.

The Scottish Writers here set a wide marke of Tyrannie upon King Edward. In this expedition, As not content to carry away captive all such as might seeme to have any the least ability to stirre, but also endeavours to extinguish, if it were possible, the very memory of the Nation, abolishing all their ancient Lawes, traſcuring their Ecclesiastical rights to the custome of England, dispoyleing them of their Histories, their instruments of State, their antique Monuments, left either by the Romans, or erected by themselves: transporting all their Bookes and Bookemen into England: sending to London the Marble stone, wherein (as the vulgar were perwaded) the fate of the kingdome consisted; and left them nothing that might either incite them to remember their former fortune, or instruct generous spirits in the way of vertue and worthiness; so that he bereaved them not onely of their strength, but of their mindes, supposing thereby to establish a perpetuall Domination over that kingdome. This journey ended, a Parliament is called at Westminster, wherein the pro-

King Edward removes his Exchequer and Courts of Justice to Yorke.

The famous Battell of Fonkirke. The Scots overthronne.

A Parliament at S. Andrewes.

The Scottish Writers inveigh against the tyrannie of King Edward.

A Parliament
at Westminster.

1301.
Anno
Reg. 28

mised confirmation of the two Charters, and the allowance of what disfor-
restation had heretofore beene made, was earnestly urged, and in the end
with much adoe granted, with omission of the Clause, *Salvo Iure Corona no-
stra*, which the King laboured to have inserted, but the people would not en-
dure the same: the perambulation of the Forrests of England is committed
to three Bishops, three Earles, and three Barons.

In this little pause of peace at home, a concord is, by the mediation of Pope Boniface, concluded with the King of France: whose sister Margaret, the King of England takes to wife in the sixty two yeare of his age (something too late for so young a Match.) and the daughter of the same King is likewise affianced to the Prince. And thereupon restitution made of what had beene usurped by the French King in Gascoigny. Burdeaux returnes to the obedience of the King of England, to the Merchants of which City hee paid 150 thousand pounds for his brother Edmonds expences in the late warres, and all is well on that side. Besides, the same Pope obtained permission for John Baliol the captive King of Scots to depart and live in France upon certaine lands he had there, and undertooke for his observation of the peace, and his confinement, who shortly after dyes, having had little joy of a Crowne, or scarce leisure to know he was a King. The decrying and calling in of a certaine base Coyne named Crocard and Pollard, with the new stamping them againe, yeelded something to the Kings Coffers: which must be emptied in Scotland, whither againe (having beeue scarce eightene moneths at home) he makes his third expedition, but did little, besides the regaining of sterling Castle which held out three moneths siege against all his power, and Engines reared with infinite charge and labour. And in the end not wonne but ycelded up by the Defendant William Oliver, upon promise, which was not kept with him. The rest of the Scots made no head, but kept in the Mountaines and Fastnesses of their Countrey, whereby the Kings Army having more to doe with barrennesse than men, suffered much affliction, and many Horses were starved.

Now upon this peace with France, the Scots being excluded, and having none to releve them, send their lamentable complaints to Pope Boniface, shewing him the afflicted state of their Countrey: the usurpation of the King of England upon them, and his most tyrannical proceeding with them, contrary to all right and equity: Protesting, they never knew of any Sovereignty bee had over them, but that they were a free KINGDOME of themselves; and so at first hee dealt with them, upon the death of their last King Alexander, both in the treaty of the marriage for his sonne Edward, with Margaret heire of Scotland; and also after her death for the decision of the Title, wherein he sought by their consents to be made Arbitre, as he was. Howsoever afterward they were constrained to give way to his will; yet, what they ever yeelded unto, was by reason they were otherwise unable to resist, &c. Vpon this remonstrance of the Scots, the Pope writes his powerfull Letters to the King of England, to forbear any further proceeding against them; clayming withall the Sovereignty of that kingdome, as belonging to the Church.

The King answers the Popes Letters at large, alleadging from all antiquity, how the direct and superior Dominion of Scotland had ever appertained to this Crowne, even from Brute to his owne line. And withall the whole Nobility write to the Pope, avowing the same right: and absolutely conclude, that the King their Lord should in no sort undergoe his Holiness judgement therein. Neither send his Procurators (as was required) about that busynesse, whereby it might seeme that doubt were made of their Kings Title, to the prejudice of the

Crowne,

Crowne, the Royall Dignity, the Liberties, Customes and Lawes of England, which by their oath and duty they were bound to observe, and would defend with their lives. Neither would they permit, nor could, any unusual, unlawful, and detrimentall proceeding; nor suffer their King, if he would, to doe, or any way more in this matter. These Letters subscribed with all their names were da-
ted at Lincoln; where then was held the Parliament Anno Domini 1301.

The Pope upon this answer, or rather having his hands full of other busi-
ness, stirres no more in this. The King of France whom he had excommuni-
cated, and given away his kingdome to the Emperour Albert of Austria,
shortly after so wrought, as his Spirituall was surprized at Anagnia a City
of Abruzzo, whither he was retired from the troubles of Rome, and so vi-
gilante treated by Sciarra Colonna a Bandito of Rome, and Nogaret and Ap-
pignano (whom hee had both persecuted) as in extreame rage and anguish,
within few dayes he ends his turbulent life.

And the King of England (having beeue supplied with a fifteenth upon confirmation of the Charters againe, at the Parliament at Lincoln) he makes his fourth expedition into Scotland, and as it were the fourth Conquest there, of having had fourtē times Homage and Fealty sworne unto him. Which might seeme sufficient to confirme his Sovereignty, whereof now hee rests secure, and home returnes in triumphant manner, removes his Exchequer from Torke, feasts his Nobility at Lincoln with all magnificence: From thence he comes to London, and renders solemne thankes to God and Saint William Wallace (that renowned Guardlai of Scotland, betrayed by his com-
panion) is sent up prisoner to London: adjudged according to the Lawes of England, to be drawne, hang'd and quartered, for his treasons committed against the King, (whom at his arraignment he wold not yet acknowledge to be his King) protesting never to have sworne fealty unto him.

Thus suffered that worthy man for the defence of his owne, in a strange Countrey, and remaines amongst the best examples of Fortitude and Piety in that kinde. And now King Edward, being (as he supposed) at an end of all his busynesse, an universall Lord at home, strong in alliance, and peace abroad, begins to looke more severely to the government of this kingdome, and to draw profit out of those disorders which the licence of warre and trouble had bred therein. And first, amongst other examples of his power (which it seemes he would have equall to his will) is the case of Sir Nicholas Segrave, one of the greatest Knights then of the Kingdome, who being ac-
cused of Treason by Sir John Cromwell, offers to justifie himselfe by Duell, which the King refuses to grant, in regard of the present warre then in hand. Whereupon Segrave without licence, & contrary to the Kings prohibition, leaves the Kings Campe, and gbes over Sea to fight with his Enemy, for which the King (as against one that had not onely contemned him, but as much as in him lay, exposed him to death, and left him to his enemies) would have Justice to proceede against him. Three dayes the Judges consulted of the matter, and in the end adjudged Segrave guilty of death, and all his moveables and immoveables forfeited to the King. Notwithstanding in regard of the greatness of his blood, they added: Hee went not out of England in contempt of the King, but onely to be revenged of his accuser, and therefore it was in the Kings power to shew mercy unto him in this case. The King hereto in great wrath replied, Have you beeue all this while consulting of this? I know it is in my power to conferre grace, and on whom I will to have mercy, but

The case of
Sir Nicholas
Segrave,

Mat. wif.

The inquisit-
ion of Trailba-
son.1306.
Anno
Reg. 33.

not the more for your sakes than for a Dogge. Who hath ever submitted himselfe to my grace, and had repulse? but let this your Judgement be recorded, and for ever held as a Law. And so the Knight for example and terrou to others, was committed to prison, though shortly after by the labour of many Noble-men of the kingdome: thirty of his Peeres with their swords standing out to be bound body for body, and goods for goods, to bring him forth whensoeuer he should be called; the King restored him to his estate.

Shortly after, the King likewise sends out a new Writ of Inquisition, called *Trailbaston*, for intruders on other mens Lands, who to oppresse the right owner, would make over their Land to great men: For *Barterers* hired to beatre men: For *breakers of the peace*: For *Ravishers*, *Incendiaries*, *Murtherers*, *Fighters*, *false Advisors*, and other such Malefactors. Which Inquisition was so strictly executed, and such Fines taken, as it brought in exceeding much Treasure to the King. So did likewise another Commission the same time sent forth to examine the behaviour of Officers, and Ministers of Justice, wherein many were found delinquents, and paid deereley for it. Informers here, as fruitfull Agents for the *Fiske* (and never more imployed than in shiffting times) were in great request. Besides these meanes for Treasure above ground, this King made some profit of certaine silver Mynes in *Devonshire*, as is to be seene in *Hollingshead*; but it seeme the charge amounting to more than the benefit, they afterwards came discontinued.

The King likewise now begins to shew his resentment of the stubborne behaviour of his Nobles towards him in times past, and so terrifies *Roger Bi-god* Earle Marshall, as to recover his favour, the Earle made him the heire of his Lands (though he had a brother living) reserving to himselfe a thousand pounds pension per annum during his life. Of others likewise, hee got great summes for the same offence. The Earle of *Hereford* escapes by death. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (whom hee accused to have disturbed his peace in his absence) he sends over to Pope *Clement the fifth*, (who succeded *Boniface*) that he might be crushit with a double power. This Pope was native of *Burdeaux*, and so the more regardfull of the Kings desire, and the King more confident of his favour; which to entertaine and increase hee sends him a whole Furnish of all Vessells for his Chamber of cleane gold: Which great gift so wrought with the Pope, as he let loose this *Lyon*, untyned the King from the covenant made with his Subjects concerning their Charters, confirmed unto them by his three last Acts of Parliament, and absolved him from his oath: An act of little piety in the Pope, & of as little confisience in the King, who (as if he should now have no more neede of his Subjects) discovered with what sincery he granted what he did.

But suddenly hereupon there fell out an occasion that brought him backe to his right Orbe againe, made him see his errour and reforme it, finding the love of his people lawfully ordered to be that which gave him all his power and meanes hee had, and to know how their substances were intermutuall. The newes of a new King made and crowned in *Scotland*, was that which wrought the effect hereof. *Robert Bruce* Earle of *Carrick*, sonne to that *Robert* who was competitor with *Baliol*, escaping out of *England*, becomes head to the confusid body of that people, which, having beeene so long without any to guide them, any intire counsell, scattered in power, disunited in minde, never at one together, were cast into that miserable estate as they were. For had they had a King as well as their enemies to have led them, held them together, and managed their affaires accordingly; that which they did in this distraction, shewes how much more they would have done otherwise.

otherwise. And therefore no sooner did *Bruce* appeare in his designe, but hee effected it, had the Crowne and hands ready to helpe him at an instant; and that before rumour could get out to report any thing of it. Although *John Cumyn* his cousin-german being a Titler himselfe, a man of great love and alliance in *Scotland*, wrote to have bewrayed *Bruces* intention to the King of *England*, in whose Court they both had lived, and were his pensioners. But *Bruce* (as great undertakers are ever awake, and ready at all hours) prevents him by spedee; and either to be avenged on him for his falsehood, or ridde of him as a Competitor, finding him at *Dunfrates*, sets upon and murthers him in the Church.

Bruce mur-
thers *John Cu-
myn* in the
Church.

Which foundation laid on blood (the place, the person, and the manner making it more odious) much stained his beginning, and effected not that security for which hee did it, but raised a mighty party in *Scotland* against him. King *Edward* (though so late acquainted herewith, as he could not be before hand with him, yet would he not be long behind to overtake him) sends *Amyer de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, the Lords *Clifford* and *Percy* with a strong power to releve his Wardens of *Scotland*, who upon his revolt were all retyred to *Berwick*, whilst himselfe prepares an Army to follow. Wherin to be the more free, and nobly attended, Proclamation is made, that whosoever ought by their paternall succession, or otherwise had meanes of their owne for service, should repaire to *Westminster* at the Feast of *Pentecost*, to receive the Order of Knighthood, & a Military Ornament out of the Kings Ward-robe.

Three hundred young Gentlemen, all the sonnes of Earles, Barons, and Knights, assemble at the appointed day, & receive Purples, Silkes, Sindons, Scarfes wrought with gold or silver, according to every mans estate: For which traine (the Kings house being too litle, by reason a great part thereof was burnt upon his comming out of *Flanders*) roome is made, and the Apple-trees cut downe at the new Temple fdr their Tents, where they attire themselves and keepe their Vigile. The Prince (whom the King then likewise knighted, and girt with a military Belt, as an Ornament of that Honour; and withall gave him the Dutchy of *Acquitaine*) kept his Vigile with his Traine at *Westminster*, and the next day girds these three hundred Knights with the Military Belts, in that manner as himselfe received it. At which ceremony the preesse was so great, as the Prince was faine to stand upon the high Altar (a place for a more Divine Honour) to performe this: Which being solemnized with all the state and magnificence could be devised, the King before them all makes his vow, that alive, or dead, he would revenge the death of *Cumyn* upon *Bruce*, and the perjured Scots: Adjuring his sonnes, and all the Nobles about him upon their fealty, that if hee died in this journey, they should carry his corpes with them about *Scotland*, and not suffer it to be interred, till they had vanquished the Vsurper, and absolutely subdued the Countrey. A desire more Martiall than Christian, shewing a minde so bent to the world, as he would not make an end when he had done with it, but designes his travell beyond his life.

The Prince and all his Nobles promise upon their faith to employ their utmost power to performe his Vow, and so upon grant of the thirtieth penny of the Clergy and the Laity, and the twentieth of all Merchants, he lets forth with a potent Army presently upon *Whitsontide*, and makes his last expeditiōn into *Scotland*, Anno Regi 34. The Earle of *Pembroke*, with that power sent before, and the ayde of the Scottish party (which was now greater by the partakers of the Family of *Cumyn*, being many, mighty, and eager to revenge

King *Edward*
sends and pre-
pares for *Scot-
land*.

The Prince
gives the ho-
nor of Knigh-
thood to 308
Gentlemen.

1307.
Anno
Reg. 34

A great execu-
tion made of
the Scots.

venge his death,) had, before the King arrived in *Scotland*, defeated in a battell neare *S. John's Towne*, the whole Army of the new King, and narrowly missed the taking of his person: who escaping in disguise, recovered an obscure shelter, and was reserved for more and greater battels: His brother *Nigel Bruce*, and shortly after *Thomas* and *Alexander* a Priest, were taken and executed after the manner of *Traytors* at *Berwick*; so that King *Edward* at his comming, had not so much to doe as he expected. But yet hee passed over the Countrey, to shew them his power, and to terrifie his enemies, causing strict inquisition to bee made for all who had beeene ayding to the murther of *Cumyn*, and the advancement of *Bruce*. Many and great personages are found out (being impossible amongst a broken people for any to remaine undiscovered,) and were all executed in cruell manner to the terror of the rest. The age of the King of *England*, his choller, wrath, and desire of revenge made him vow inexorable, and to spare none of what degree soever they were. The Earle of *Athol* (though of the Royall Blood, and allied unto him) was sent to *London*, and preferred to a higher Gallows than any of the rest. The wife of *Robert Bruce*, taken by the Lord *Rosse*, is sent prisoner to *London*, and his daughter to a Monastery in *Lindsey*. The Countesse of *Boughan* that was ayding at the Coronation of *Bruce*, is put into a wooden Cage, and hung out upon the Walls of *Berwick*, for people to gaze on.

Which rigorous proceeding rather exasperates the Enemie, and addes to the party of *Bruce*, than any way quailed it: *desperation* being of a sharper edge than *hope*. And though *Bruce* now appeared not, but shifted privily from place to place, in a distressed manner (attended only with two noble Gentlemen, who never forsooke him in his fortunes, the Earle of *Lenox*, and *Gilbert Hay*) yet still expectation, love, and the well-wishing of his friends went with him, and so long as he was alive they held him not lost; this affliction did but harden him for future labours, which his Enemies (who now neglected to looke after him, as either holding him dead, or so downe as never to rise againe) found afterward to their cost. For this man, from being thus laid on the ground, within few yeates after gets up to give the greatest overthrow to the greatest Army that ever the *English* brought into the field, and to repay the measure of blood in as full manner as it was given.

A Parliament
at *Carlile*.

All this Summer the King spends in *Scotland*, and winters in *Carlile*, to be ready the next Spring if any fire should breake out, to quench it. For resold he is, not to depart, till he had set such an end to this worke, as it should neede no more. And here he holds his last Parliament, wherein the State was mindfull of the Popes late action, got many Ordinances to passe for reformation of the abuses of his Ministers, and his owne former exactions; who being but poore, sought to get where it was to be had. Wringing from the elect Archibishop of *Yorke* in one yeare nine thousand five hundredth Markes: And besides, *Anthony* Bishop of *Duresme* to be made Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, gave him and his Cardinalls mighty summes. This Bishop *Anthony* is said to have had in purchases, in inheritances, five thousand Markes per annum, besides what belonged to his Myter: which shewed the Pope the riches of this Kingdome, and moved him to require the frutes of one yeares revenue, of every Benefice that should fall vioide in *England*, *Scotland*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*; and the like of *Abbyes*, *Priories*, and *Monasteries*: which though it were denied him, yet something he had; the King and hee dividing it betwixt them. The Pope granted the King the Tenth of all the Churches of *England* for two yeares: and the King yelded, that the Pope should have the first fruits of those Churches. And the better to effect this businesse,

The King, and
Pope divide
the benefit of
the Clergy.

businesse, the Pope makes an errand, and sends *Petrus Hispanus* Cardinall à *Latere*, to call upon the King for consummation of the Marriage betweene Prince *Edward* and *Isabell* daughter to the King of *France*. And this Cardinall got something, but not so much as he expected.

Whilst they were thus busie at *Carlile*, about the opening of the Spring, opens himselfe the hidden King *Robert Bruce*, and with some forces hee had gotten together, suddenly assayles the Earle of *Pembroke* at unawares, and gave him a great defeat; and within three dayes after chases the Earle of *Gloucester* into the Castle of *Ayn*, where hee besieged him, till by the Kings forces, hee was driven againe to his former retire. But this shewed, that so long as he was (in what estate soever he was) there would be no end of this Warre.

Which caused King *Edward* to send out his first commandement, that whosoever ought him seruise should presently upon the Midsummer after attend him at *Carlile*. And withall he sends the Prince to *London*, about the businesse of his Marriage. In July, although he found himselfe not well, he enters *Scotland* with a fresh Army, which he led not farre; for falling into a *Dysenterie*, he dyes at *Borough* upon the sands; as if to siew on what foundation hee had built all his glory in this world; having reigned thirty and fourte yeares seven moneths: aged sixty eight. A Prince of a generous spirit, wherin the fire held out everto the very last; borne and bred for action and military affaires, which hee managed with great judgement; ever wary, and provident for his owne businesse; watchfull and eager to enlarge his power: and was more for the greatnessse of *England*, than the quiet thereof. And this woe may justly say of him, that never King before or since shedde so much Christian blood without this *Isle of Brittaine*, as this Christian Warrior did in his time, and was the cause of more in that following.

Hee had issue by his first Wife *Queenie Elioner* fourte sonnes, whereof only *Edward* survived him, and nine Daughters; *Eliour* married first to *John Earle of Bur*; *Jean* to *Gilbert Clare Earle of Gloucester*; *Margaret* to *John Duke of Brabant*; *Mary* lived a Nunne in the Monastery of *Amsbury*; *Elizabeth* married first to *John Earle of Holland*, after to *Humphrey Bohun Earle of Hereford*, the rest died young. Hee had by his second Wife two sonnes, *Thomas* surnamed *Brotherton*, which was Marshall and Earle of *Norfolk*, and *Edmond* Earle of *Kent*.

The end of the Life and Reigne of Edward the first.

 *Dward of Carnarvan* removed more than one degree from the Father in height of Spirit, and neerer the Grand-father in flexibility, and easinessse of nature (which made him apt to bee taken) began his Reigne in July 1307, in the three and twentieth yeare of his age. A Prince which shewes us what confusion & mischiefe attends riot, disorder, neglect of the State, and advancing unworthy, or ill-disposed Minions, to the prejudice of others, the griefe of the people, and the diminution of the Royall Majestic. And though his youth might somewhat excuse the first sicknesse of his private favours, yet those often relapses of his, shewed it was an habituall indisposition in the whole estate of his minde; npt to be cured.

Never was Prince received with greater love and opinion of all, or even any

King *Bruce* re-
covers new
forces.

King *Edward*
enters *Scotland*
and dies there.

1340.
Anno
Reg. 35.

His Issue.

1307.
Anno
Reg. 1.

King Edward
the first impris-
oned his son,
and exiled
Pierce Gave-
ston An. R. 3.

Pierce Gave-
ston recalled &
preferred by
the King.

A Parliament
at Northamp-
ton held before
the coronation.
The Marriage
of King Ed-
ward solemnized
at Bologna.

Gaveston cor-
rupts the king.

The Lords are
displeased with
Gaveston.

any that sooner lost it. For his very first actions discoverd a head-strong wilfulness that was uncancellable: Whereof the entarteyning againe his old Companion *Pierce Gaveston* was one, whom the Father had banished the Kingdome, finding him to have corrupted the youth of his Sonne, and leade him to commit any ryots: Amongst which was the breaking of the Parke of the Bishop of *Chester*, for which he both imprisoned his sonne, and exiled *Gaveston*. Besides, this provident King (as if fore-seeing the mischiefe might ensue) at his Death charged his sonne (upon his blessing) never to recall or entarteyne *Pierce Gaveston* againe abouthim, and required the Lords (who were present) to see his will obserued therein: Which notwithstanding, hee brake before his Fathers Funeralls were performed; and not onely entertaines, but invests *Gaveston* in the Earledome of *Cornwall* and the Lordship of *Man*; being both of the Demaines of the Crown, & makes him his chiefe Chamberlaine. Then to be revenged on the Bishop of *Chester* his Fathers Treasurer (who had abridged his experies, and complained of him for his Ryot) he caused him to be arrested, committed to Prison, and seises upon all his goods, which hee gave to *Gaveston*: makes a new Treasurer of his owne, remooves most of his Fathers Officers; and all without the advice, or consent of his Councell, which gave them their first discontent, and bewrayed his disposition.

Before his Coronation, a Parliament was held at *Northampton*, wherein was ordained, that the Monies of his Father (notwithstanding the people held them basid, shoule be Current, and a fifteenth of the Clergy, a Twentieth of the Temporalty is there granted. After the Funeralls performed at *Westminster*, he passes over to *Bologne*, where his Nuptialls with *Isabell*, Daughter to *Phillippe Bel*, are sumptuously solemnized; at which were present the King of *France*, the King of *Navarre*, his Sonne, the King of *Almaine*, the King of *Sicile*, and three Queenes besides the Bride, with an extraordinary concourse of other Princes. At which Feast *Gaveston* is layd to have exceeded them all in bravery, and daintiness of attire, wherewith afterward hee infected the Court of *England*. A mischiefe the most contagious to breed Consumption in a Stad, (that can bee introduced). For, the imitation thereof prelenty distends it selfe over all, and passes beyond the example, and at length all meanes to maintaine it. And had he done no other hurt to the Kingdome than this, it had bee enough to have made him (as hee was) odious therunto. But besides, he afterwards filled the Court with Buffons, Parasites, Minstrels, Players, and all kinde of dissolute persons to entarteyne, and dissolve the King with delights and pleasures. Wherby he so possesse him, as he regarded no other company, no other exercise, but continually day, and night spent his time, and treasure in all wantonnesse, ryot, and disorder; neglecting the affaires of the State: and the company, and counsell of all the rest of the Nobles, who assembling together (at the instant, when he was to be crowned with his Queen) at *Westminster*, Anno Reg. 21.) require him that *Gaveston* might be removed from the Court, and Kingdome; otherwise they purposed to hinder his Coronation, at that time. Whereupon the King to avoyde so great a disgrace, promises on his faith, to yeld to what they desired in the next Parliament, and the solemnity with much festination, and little reverence is performed. Wherein *Gaveston* for carrying *Saint Edwards* Crowne before the King, aggravates the hatred of the Clergy, and Nobility against him.

Shortly after his Coronation, all the Knights Templars throughout *Eng-*
land are at once arrested, and committed to prison. Then were an order
of

of Knights instituted by *Baldwin* the fourth King of *Ierusalem* about two hundred yeares past, and first appointed for the defence of that City, and the safe conveying of all such as travailed thither: afterwards they were dispersed through all the Kingdomes of Christendome, and by the pious bounty of Princes, and others, intriched with infinite possessions, which made them to degenerate from their first institution, and become execrably vicious. So that all the Kings of Christendome at one instant (combining together) caused them to bee apprehended within their Dominions, and put out of their order, and estates. The King of *France* beganne, having a purpose to make one of his sonnes King of *Ierusalem*, and possesse him of their revenues. Their accusations followes their apprehension, and condemned they are (rather by fame than proove) in the general Council at *Vienna*; as appeares by the condemnatory *Bull of Pope Clement the third*: wherein hee hath this clause, *Quanquam de jure non possumus, tamen ad plenitudinem potestatis, dictum ordinem reprobamus*. Their estates are after given to the *Hospitaliers*.

These busynesses passed over, the Lords prosecute their purpose against *Gaveston*, whose insolency, and presumption upon the Kings favoures, made him so farre to forget himselfe, as he scorned the best of them all, as much as they hated him; Tearing *Thomas Earle of Lancaster* the Stage player, *Aymar de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, *Joseph the Twp*, and *Guy Earle of Warwick*, the blacke dogge of *Ardern*. Which scoffes, leaving behinde them the stings of revenge (especially where they touch) drew such a party upon him, as in the next Parliament, the whole Assembly Humbly besought the King to advise, and treatise with his Nobles, concerning the State of the Kingdome, for the avoiding of eminent mischiefe, likely to insue through neglect of government; and so farre urges the matter, as the King consents therunto, and not onely grants them libertie to draw into Articles what was requisite for the Kingdome, but takes his Oath to ratifie whatsoever they should conclude. Whereupon they elect certaine choycemen both of the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons, to compose those Articles. Which done, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, lately recalled from exile, with the rest of his Suffragans, solemnly pronounce the sentence of excommunication against all such who should contradict those Articles which are there publickly read before the Barons and Commons of the Realme, in the presence of the King. Amongst which the observation and execution of *Magna Charta* is required, with all other ordinances necessary for the Church and Kingdome. And that as the late King had done, all Strangers shoule be banished the Court, and Kingdome, and all ill Councillors remooved. That the busyness of the State shoule be treated only by the Councell of the Clergy, and the Nobles. That the King shoule not begin any war, or ege any way out of the Kingdome, without the common Councell of the same.

Which Articles though they seemed harsh to the King, yet to avoyde further trouble hee yelds unto them, but especially to the banishment of his Minion, as if that would excite him for all the rest; and away is he sent into *Ireland*, where he lived a while, not as a man exiled, but as the Lieutenant of the Countrey. The King not enduring to bee without his company, neuer ceased working till hee had recalled him backe againe: which within a few moneths after hee did. And to make him (as hee thought) to stand the faster on his feete, hee marries him to his Neece (the daughter of *Ioane de Acres*, suster to *Gilbert de Clare Earle of Gloucester*, a man beloved and highly esteemed of all the Nobility: for whose sake he hoped *Gaveston* should

The Knights
Templars ar-
rested and
committed to
prison.
Their disolu-
tion.

The Lords
prosecute *Ga-
veston*.

13 10.
Anno
Reg. 3.

A Parliament
The King
takes his
Oath to
ratifie what-
soever Articles
the Lords
would con-
clude in Par-
liament.

Gaveston bi-
nished into
Ireland.

Gaveston re-
called.

finde the more favour amongst them, but all this could not shelter him. Either his behaviour, or their malice was such as they could not indure to have him about the King, who by making him so great lessened him, and the more he was enriched, the worse was his estate. The Subjects spectators of their Kings immoderate gifts, held it to be taken out of the bowels of the Common-wealth, and as it were of their substance that was so wasted. For it is reported, the King gave him the Jewels of the Crowne, which hee sold to Merchant strangers, and conveyed much treasure out of the Kingdome, whereby the King sustained great wants, and the Queene is abridged of her allowance, wherof shee complaihes to the King of France her Father.

The Lords threaten the King.

Gaveston againe banished.

Gaveston returns.

The Lords take Armes.

Gaveston taken and beheaded.

These stingues put the Barons on to send plaine word to the King, *That unless hee put from him Pierce Gaveston, and observe the late Articles, they would all with one consent rise in armes against him, as a perfured Prince.* The King (whom they found was apt to be terrified) yeelds againe upon this message to the Banishment of his Minion: whose fortune being to have a weake master, was driven to these sudden extremities, and disgracfull expulsions, at their will who were his enviers; and whonow obtaine this clause; *That if hereafter he were found againe within the Kingdome, he should bee condemned to death as an enemy to the State.* Ireland was now no more to protect him: France most unsafe for him (wait being there layd to apprehend him) in Flanders hee lurkes a while, but in greate danger; and finding no where any security, backe againe hee adventures upon England, and unto the Kings boosome (the sanctuary he thought would not be violated) he puts himselfe, and there is he received with as great joy as ever man could be. And to bee as farre out of the way and eye of envy as might be, the King carries him into the North parts, where notwithstanding the Lords shortly after found him out. For no sooner had they heard of his returne, and receiving into grace, but they presently combine and take Armes, electing Thomas Earle of Lancaster for their Leader. This Thomas was the sonne of Edmond, the second son of Henry the third: and was likewise Earle of Leicester, Ferrers and Lincoln, a most powerfull and popular Subject, with whom joynes Humfrey Bohun Earle of Hereford, Aymer de Valence, Earle of Pembridge, Guy de Beaucham Earle of Warwick, the Earle of Arundell (with many other Barons.) But Gilbert Earle of Gloucester the Kings Nephew, for that he would neyther offend him, nor be wanting to his Peeres, stands as Mediator for their liberties, and the peace of the Kingdome. The Earle Warrein remained a while doubtfull, and favouring rather the Kings part, till the Archibishop of Canterbury induced him to consent with the Lords: who being thus prepared send to the King in the behalfe of the whole Communallity, *Beseeching him to deliver up unto them Pierce Gaveston, or else to send him away with his traine out of England.* The King neglecting their petition, they set forward in Armes toward the North. The King and Gaveston, withdrew to Newcastle, and there being advertised of the strength of the Lords, they take Ship (leaving the Queene in much grieve behind) and land at Scarborough Castle, whereinto the King puts Gaveston with the best forces he could provide for his defence, and departs himselfe towards Warwickshire.

The Earles of Pembroke and Warrein sent by the Earle of Lancaster to besiege to the Castle, Gaveston is forced to render himselfe into their hands, but intreats thus much, that he might be brought once more to speake with the King, and then after they should do with him what they pleased. The Earle of Pembroke undertakes upon his honour hee should, but as his servants were

con-

conducting him towards the King, the Earle of Warwick tooke him from them by force, and commits him to the Castle of Warwick, where after some consultation among the Lords (notwithstanding the Kings earnest sollicitation for his life,) they condemned him to the blocke, and tooke off his head.

This was the end of *Pierce Gaveston*, who for that he was the first *Privado* of this kind ever noted in our History, and was above a King in his life, deserves to have his Character amongst Princes being dead. Native hee was of Gascoine, and for the great service his father had done to this Crowne, entertained and bred up by King Edward the first, in companie with his sonne this Prince, which was the meanes that invested him into that high favour of his. Hee was of a goodly personage, of an haughtie and undauntable spirit, brave and hardy at Armes, as hee shewed himselfe in that Turneament which hee held at Wallingford, wherein hee challenged the best of the Nobility, and is sayd to have foyled them all; which inflamed the more their malice towards him. In Ireland where he was Lieutenant during the short time of his banishment, he made a Journey into the mountaines of Dublin, brake and subdued the Rebels there, built Newcastle in the Kerns Country, repaired Castle Kewin, and after passed up into Munster and Thomond, performing every where great service with much valour and worthinesse. Hee seemes to have beeene a Courtier which could not fawne nor stoope to those he loved not; or put on any disguise upon his Nature to temporize with his enemies; But presuming upon his fortune (the misfortune of such men) grew in the end to that arrogancie as was intollerable, which the privatice of a Kings favour usually begets in their Minions, whose understanding and judgement being dazzled therewith, as is their sight who stand and look downe from off high places, never discerne the ground from whence they ascended. And this extraordinary favour shewed to one though he were the best of men, when it arises to an excesse, is like the predomination of one humour alone in the body, which indaugers the health of the whole, and especially if it light upon unworthinesse, or where is no desert, and commonly Princes raise men rather for appetite than merit, for that in the one they shew the freedome of their power, in the other they may seeme but to pay their debt.

But this violent part of the Lords shewed the nature of a rough time, and was the beginning of the second Civill Warre of England. For now having had their desire in this, and finding their owne power and the weakenesse of the King, they peremptorily require the confirmation and execution of all those Articles formerly granted; threatening the King that unless hee presently performed the same, they would constraine him thercunto by strong hand. Thus will Libertie never cease till it grow licentious, and such is the misery of a State, where a King hath once lost his reputation with his people, and where his Nature agrees not with his Office, or answers the duties therunto belonging. And with this menacing message they had their Swords likewise ready drawne, and with strong forces assamble about Dunstable, making towards London, where the King then lay.

The great Prelates of the Kingdome, with the Earle of Gloucester labours to appease them, and (with two Cardinals, which at that time were sent by the Pope to reforme these disorders of the Kingdome) they repaire to Saint Albans and desire conference with the Lords, who receive them very peaceably, but the Letters which the Pope had written unto them, they refuse to receive, saying, *They were men of the sword, and cared not for reading of Letters.*

The description of Pierce Gaveston.

The miserable estate of Minions.

The peremptory proceedings of the Lords.

The Prelates and the Earle of Gloucester labour to pacifie and bring in the Lords.

Their submis-
sion.1313.
Anno
Reg. 5.Queene Isab-
el delivered
of a Sonne..

A Parliament.

The Lords --
are pardoned.
A fifteenth
granted.1314.
Anno
Reg. 6.King Bruce
grows strong
in Scotland.
King Edward
goes with a
mighty army
into Scotland.

that there were many worthy and learned men in the Kingdome whose Counsels they would use; and not strangers, who knew not the cause of their commotion: absolutely concluding, that they would not permit Forrainers and Aliens to entremedle in their actions, or in any busynesse that concerned the kingdomc. With which answer the Cardinall returned to London. But the Prelates of Eng-land so labour the busynesse as the Lords were content to yeeld up to the King such Horses, Treasure, and Jewels as they had taken of *Pierce Gaveston* at Newcastle, so that the King would graunt their petitions. And thereupon *John Sandall* Treasurer of the Kingdome, and *Engelard Warlc* Keeper of the Wardrobe, are sent to Saint Albans to recive those things at their hands.

About this time Queene *Isabel* is delivered of a sonne at Winsor, whom *Louys* her brother, and other great men and Ladies of France, would have had christened by the name of her father *Phillip*, but the Nobility of Eng-land had him named *Edward*. And here the King keepes his Christmas, feasts the French with great Magnificence, and is sayd (or rather suspected) to be evill counselle by them against his Nobles, betwene whom there being so ill correspondence already, any imagination serves to make it worse, *Suspition* causing all things to be taken in ill part.

Shortly after, a Parliament is called at London, wherein the King complaines of the great contempt was had of him by the Barons, their rising in Armes, their taking and murthering *Pierce Gaveston*, &c. Whereunto with one accord they answer: how they had not offended therein, but rather merited his love and favour, having taken Armes not for any contempt of his royll person, but to destroy the publike enemy of the Kingdome, banished before by the consent of two Kings: a man by whom his fame and honour was most highly disparaged; his substance, and that of the Kingdome wasted, and a most dangerous dissencion betweene him and his Subjects raised. Whereof otherwise with all their labour and travell they could never have had an end. Besidesthey tell him plainly, they would now no longer attend vaine promises, nor be deluded with delays, as they had hitherto beeene concerning their required Articles. Which stout resolution of theirs, the Queene with the Prelates, and the Earle of Gloucester seeing, they seeke by all perswasions to quallifie their heate, and at length so faire prevailed with them and their confederates in open Parliament, to humble themselves to the King, and to crave pardon for what they had done, which they obtained, and the King receives them into grace, as his loyall Subjects, grants them their Articles, and particular pardons by his Charter, for their indemnity concerning the death of *Gaveston*. And for this the State upon his great wants granted him a Fifteenth. *Guy de Beaucham* Earle of *Warwicke* is here appointed to be one of the Kings Councell, who being a man much envied by such as possest the King, shortly after dies, not without suspition of poyon.

Whilst the State of England stood thus diseased at home, through the infirmity of a weake Head, that of Scotland grew strong by the providence of a vigilant King, who had not onely overcome the Scottish faction, and recovered the most of his owne Country, but also made spoyles on this, wasting all Northumberland in such sort, as King Edward wakened with the out-cries of his people, and the great dishonour of the Kingdome, is drawne to take Armes for redresse thereof, and enters Scotland with the greatest Army that ever yet went thither, consisting as the Scottish writers report, of 100 thousand men, whereof were great numbers of *Flemings*, *Gascoines*, *Welsh* and *Irish*, who in imagination had devoured the Country before they came ther-

ther, and thought not of Battailles but of deviding the prey. Besides, the King had with him most of the Nobilitie, and especiall men of England, except *Thomas Earle of Lancaster*, the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Warren* and *Arundell*, who refused to goe, for the King protracted the execution of the foresaid Articles.

The Castle of *Sterling* is the pece that is to be releaved, which chiefly now held out, defended by *Phillip Mowbray* a valiant Knight, who seeing the daily successse of *Bruce*, had manned and victualled the same for many moneths. Neere to this place upon the River *Bannock* is incountred this great Army of England by *Bruce*, with thirty thousand Scots, a small number say their Writers, in respect of their enemies: but as men hardened with daily use of Warre and Domesticall evils, fierce and resolute, carrying all their hopes in their hands, of life, estate, and whatsoever was deare unto them. The advantage of the ground was theirs, having behinde unacessable Rockes to defend them, before a Moorish uncertaine ground wherein they digged trenches, which they pitched full of sharpe stakes, and covered them over with hurdles, so that the footemen might passe over safely without impediment, but it so confounded the horse, as it gave the Scots the day, and the greatest overthrow to England that ever it received. There perished in this Battaille (called of *Bannocks Borough*) *Gilbert* the last *Clare* Earle of Gloucester, a maine Arch of the State of England, and *Robert Lord Clifford* the Noblest of our Barons, with the Lord *Tiptoft*, the Lord *Marshall*, the Lord *Giles de Argenton*, the Lord *Edmond de Manle*, and 700 Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen of sort: of common soldiars, theirs say fifty thousand, ours ten: taken prisoners, *Humphrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, *Ralph de Mortehuise* (who married *Joan de Acres*, Countesse Dowager of *Glocester*) with many others: the King and those who were preserved escaped by flight.

This deficit put Scotland both into Armes and Wealth, so that they held their owne the better for a long time after, and discouraged so much this Kingdom for many yeares, as it wrought not (though it often attempted) any great revenge. King Edward upon his coming backe to *Yorke*, shewed a great desire to repaire this dishonour, but nothing was done; his people grew colde, home they returne, and sit downe by their losse. The poore Boderers have the worst of it, and become so dejected as 100. of them would flye from three Scots, saith *Walsingham*. To such a suddaine faintnesse are the interiours brought, whenthe nobler parts of a State, which shold give them spirit, are ill affected.

This distaster (a mischiefe never comes alone) was attended with inundations, which brought foorth Dearth, Dearth Famine, Famine Pestilence, all which exceeded any that ever before had beeene knowne. A Parliament is called at London upon the beginning of this Dearth to abate the prices of Victualls, which suddenly grew to be excessive; And therefore it was ordained, that an Oxe fattet with grass should be sold for fifteen shillings, fatted with Corne for twenty shillings, the best Cbeef for twelve shillings, a fat Hogge of two yeares old three shillings four pence, a fat Slicape fiftene, fourteene pence, with the fleece twenty pence, a fat Goose for two pence halfe penny, a fat Capon two pence, a fat Hen a penny, fourre Pygeons a penny, whosoever sold above shold forfeit their ware to the King. Heere seemes then to have beeene no Calves, Lambs, Goslings, Chickings, young Pigs etc. After these rates imposed, all kind of Victualls grew more scarce than be-fore,

The Battell of
*Bannocks Bo-
rough*.The defat of
the English:A Parliament
at London.

1315.

Anno
Reg. 8.Rates for Vi-
tualls.

A Death
which lasted
3.yeares.

1317.
Anno
Reg. 10

The Wife of
the Earle of
Lancaster ta-
ken out of his
house at Can-
ford.

The King ad-
vertised of his
errors.

The miserable
affliction of
the Borderers.

A reconciliati-
on betwene the
King and the Nobles.
And new oc-
cation of trou-
ble.

fore, and such a Murren followed of all kind of Cattell, with a generall falling of all frutes of the earth, by the excessive raines and unseasonable weather, as provision could not be had for the Kings house, nor meanes for other great men to maintaine their Tables (such a just punishment had excesse and ryot inflicted thereon in those dayes) in so much as men put away their servants in great numbers, who having beene daintily bred, and now not able to work, scorning to beg, fell to robbery and spoyle, which addes more misery to the Kingdome. Three yeares this affliction held, and was attended with so great a Pestilence and generall sickenesse of the common sort, caused by the ill nutriment they received, as the living scarce sufficed to bury the dead.

Notwithstanding could all this extinguish the rancour betweene the King and his Nobles, but daily one mischiese or other brake out, to hold in and increase the same. The wife of Thomas Earle of Lancaster is taken out of his house at Canford in Dorset-shire, by one Richard Saint-Martin, a deformed Dwarffe (as hee is described) a follower of the Earle Warrein : Clayming her for his Wife, and avowing how hee had layne with her before shee was married to the Earle, which the Lady herselfe to her perpetuall ignominy, and the shame of honour, voluntarily averred. This base creature claymes by her the Earledomes of Lincolne and Salisbury, whereunto shee was Heire ; which without being supported by great Abbettores, hee would never have presumed to attempt. The King is noted an Actor herein, which being in so tender and reserved a businesse as mariage, added much to his other violations of orders, and gave occasion and hardinesse to inferiour persons to reprove his courses as may be noted by this passage. Being at the Celebration of the feast of Pentecost at dinner in the open Hall at Westminister, a woman fantastically disguised enters on Horse-backe, and ryding about the Table delivers him a Letter, wherein was signified the great neglect he had of such as had done him, and his Father noble services, taxing him for advancing men of unworthy parts, &c. which Letter read, and the woman departed, put the King into a great rage. They who guarded the doore being sharply reprehended for suffering her to enter in that manner, excused themselves, alleadging it not to be the fashion of the Kings house intimes of Festivals, to keepe out any which came in that manner, as they thought to make sport. Search being made for this Woman, shee is found and examined who set her on. Shee confessed a Knight gave her mony to doe as shee did. The Knight is found, and upon examination boldly confessed, hee did it for the Kings honour and to none other end, and escapes without any further adoe.

Thus while the North parts were not onely infested with the Scots, but likewise by such of the English as under colour of using ayde for resistance, robbed and spoyled all where they came, to the miserable undoing of the people. Besides, Robert Bruce now absolute King of Scots, sends his brother Edward with a mighty power into Ireland, whereof he got a great part, and the Title of a King, which he held three yeares. Thus all things went ill, as evermore it doth in dissolute and contentious times wherein the publike is alway neglected.

But these mischieves abroad was the occasion that a reconciliation between the King and the Earle of Lancaster, is made by the mediation of two Cardinalls upon such conditions as were soone after unjustly broken by the King. A Knight is taken passing by Pomfret with Letters sealed with the Kings Seale, directed to the King of Scots about murthering the Earle, which

Messenger

Messenger is executed, his head is set upon the top of the Castle, and the Letters referred to witness the intended plot. Which whether it were fayned or not, the report thereof cast an aspersion upon the King, and won many to take part with the Earle. After this, upon an invasion of the Scots forraging as farre as Yorke, a Parliament is assembled at London, wherein againe the King by the working of the Cardinall, and Clergy of England, yeeldes, faithfully to observe all the former required Articles. Whereupon an ayde is granted him of Armed men to goe against the Scots. London lets forth 200. Canterbury 40. Saint Albans 10. and so of all Cities and Boroughs according to their proportion, whereby a great Army was leavied. Which comming to Yorke ; through mutiny, emulation, and other impediments was dissolved, and turned backe without effecting any thing.

The next yeaer after upon the rendring up of Berwick to the Scots by the Treason of Peter Spalding who had the custody thereof, the King of England rayses an Army and beleagars it: the Scots to divert his forces, enters upon England, by other wayes, and were like to have surprised the Person of the Queene, lying neare Yorke. The siege notwithstanding is eagerly continued, and the King in great possibility to have regayned the Towne, had not the Earle of Lancaster with Followers with-drawne himselfe upon discontent, hearing the King say, how he would give the keeping thereof to the Lord Hugh Spencer the younger, who was now growne an especiall Minion (the successor for both of the Office, and private favour of Gaveston) and therefore not to be indured by the Earle.

Those of Yorke and the Country adjacent, having receyved inestimable damages by the Scots, collect an Army of 10000. men, and encounter them at Milton on swayle : but being not well led, nor experienced, they receyved the defeite, with the losse of 3000. men. Whereof the King being certified and seeing all things to succeede ill with him, concludes a Truce with the Scots for two yeares, and againe returns with dishonour from those parts. In the time of this peace, a great flame arises from a small sparke, and tooke begining upon this occasion. A Baron named William Brewes, having in his lycentious age, wasted his estate, offers to sell unto divers men a part of his inheritance called Powes. Humphrey Bohun Earle of Hereford, in regard the Land lay neare his, obtaines leave of the King to buy it, and bargaines for the same. The two Roger Mortimers, Uncle and Nephew great men likewise in those parts, not understanding it seemes any thing of the former bargaine, contract also for the same land, with the layd Sir William Brewes. Hugh Spencer the younger hearing of this sale, and the Land adjoyning to part of his, obtaines a more especially leave of the King, being now his Chamberlaine, and buyes it out of all their hands.

The Earle of Hereford complaines himselfe to the Earle of Lancaster (the refuge of all discontented men) who at Sherborne enters into a Confederation with divers Barons there Assembled, taking their oathes intermixtually to live and dye together, in maintayning the right of the Kingdome, and to procure the Banishment of the two Spencers Father, and sonne, whom they now held to be the great seducers of the King and oppressours of the State, dispising of all things in Court at their Will, and suffering nothing to be obtained but by their meanes. Which the State accounted a mischiefe most intollerable and grievous unto them, seeing all graces and dispatches were to passe out but at one doore, wherby the Kings benignity and power is diminished, the Kingdome dishonoured, all corruptions introduced to the over-thow of Justice and good order.

And take Armes.

1318.

Anno

Reg. 11.

A Parliament
at London.

1319.

Anno

Reg. 12.

The Lord
Hugh Spencer
the younger
succeded
Gaveston in
the Office of
Lord Cham-
berlayne.

1320.

Anno

Reg. 13.

Another oc-
cation of
revolt.

The Lords
oppose the
Spencers.

The Life and Reigne of Edward the second.

The King excuses the Spencers. Denies the Lords their demands.

The Lords come armed to London. The King yeelds unto them.

The Earle of Hereford publishes the Kings Edict in Westminster Hall.

The occasion of the Queens displeasure with the Lords.

Shee is denied lodging in the Castle of Leedes.

The King takes the Castle of Leedes. Groves strong.

And under this pretence they take Armes, wherein themselves proceede not in that even way of right as they made shew, but follow the fury of their wills, being once out and astray, they seize upon, and make spoyle of the Lands and goods of those persons they prosecuted, and all such as had friendship and affinity with them, killing their servants and disposing their Castles at their pleasure. And comming armed thus to S. Albans they send to their King, residing then at London, the Bishops of London, Salisbury, Hereford & Chichester (who were there assembled to consult for peace) requiring him as he tendred the quiet of the Realme to rid his Court of those Traitors the Spencers condemned in many Articles of high Treason, by the Communallity of the land, and withall to grant his Letters Patents of Pardon and Indemnity both to them, and all such tooke part with them, and that for no offences past or present they should hereafter be punished. The King returnes answer, That Hugh Spences the Father was now beyond the Seas imployed in his busynesse, and the sonne was guarding the Cinq-Rorts according to his Office, and that it was against Law and Custome, they should be banished without being heard. Moreover that their request was veyde of Justice and Reason, for that the sayd Spencers were ever ready to answer to all complaints made against them, according to the forme of Law, and if the L. L. could prove they had offended the Statutus of the Realme, they were willing to submit themselves to the triall thereof. And besides sware he would never violate the Oath made at his Coronation, by granting letters of pardons to such notorious offenders who contemned his person, disturbed the Kingdome, and violated the Royall Majestie. Which answer so exasperated the Lords as presently they approached to London, and lodged in the suburbs, till they obtained leave of the King to enter into the City : Where they peremptorily urge their demands, which at length by mediation of the Queene, and the chiefe Prelates, the King is wrought to condescend unto, and by his Edict published in Westminster Hall by the Earle of Hereford, are the Spencers banished the Kingdome. Hugh the Father keepe beyond the Seas, but the sonne secretly hides himselfe in England expecting the turne of a better season. The Lords (having this obtained their desire with the Kings Letters of impunity) depart home, but yet not with such security, as they gave over the provision for their owne defence.

Shortly after, there fell out an unexpected accident that suddainely wrought their confusion. The Queene who had ever beeene the Nurse of peace, and laboured to accord the King and his Barons, making her Progresse towards Canterbury, was disposed to lodge in the Castle of Leedes, appertayning to the Lord Badlesmere (who had beeene long the Kings Steward, but lately tooke part with the Barons) and sending her Marshall to make ready for her and her trayne, they who kept the Castle told him plainly, that neyther the Queene, or any else should enter there, without Letters from their Lord. The Queene herselfe goes to the Castle, and receives the like answer, whereupon shee is driven to take such lodging otherwere as could bee provided. Of which indignity shee complaines to the King, who tooke it so to heart, as presently with a power of Armed men out of London, he layes siege to the Castle, takes it, hangs the keeper, Thomas Gulepeper, sends the Wife and Children of the Lord Badlesmere to the Tower, and seizes upon all his goods and Treasure. And having this power about him, and warmed with successse and the instigation of the Queene, suddainly directeth his course to Chichester where he keepe his Christmas, and there provides for an Army against the Barons, whereof many (seeing the Kings power encreasing) left their associates and yeeld themselves to his mercy, amongst whom were the two Roger Mortimers,

The Life and Reigne of Edward the second.

mers, men of great might and meanes, the Lord Hugh Audley, the Lord Maurice Barkley, and others, who notwithstanding, contrary to their expectation, were sent to divers Prissons. The Earles of Lancaster and Hereford seeing this suddaine change, withdrew themselves and their Companies from about Gloucester towards the North parts. The King followes them with his Army, wherein were the Earles of Athol and Angus, and at Burton upon Trent, where they had made head, disconfited their Forces and put them all to flight. Whereupon seeking to escape they retire further North, and at Brough Brigs are encountered by Sir Simon Ward Shrieve of York, & Sir Andrew Harckley Constable of Carlile, who (after the Earle of Hereford was slaine in striving to passe the Bridge) tooke the Earle of Lancaster, with divers other Lords, and brought them to Pomfret, where the third day after, the King sitting himselfe in judgement with Edmond Earle of Kent his brother, the Earle of Pembroke, the Earle Warrein, Hugh Spencer lately created Earle of Winchester and others, sentence of death is given against Thomas Earle of Lancaster, by drawing, hanging and beheading as a Traitor. The two first punishments are pardoned in regard he was of the Royall blood, and onely beheaded hee was the same day without the Towne of Pomfret before his owne Castle. And by the like judgement were Condemned, the Lord Roger Clifford, the Lord Warrin Lisle, the Lord William Tuchet, Thomas Maudit, Henry Bradburne, William Fitz-Williams, William Lord Cheyny, Thomas Lord Mowbray, Ioseline Lord Danyll, all which were executed at Yorke. Shortly after the Lord Henry Teyt is taken, drawne, hanged and quartered at London, the Lord Aldenham at Windsor, the Lords Badlesmere and Ashburnham at Canterbury, the Lord Gifford at Gloucester ; principall men in principall places, to spread the more terror over the Kingdome. All their estates and inheritances are Confiscated, and many new men advanced by the same. And this is the first blood of Nobility, that ever was spilt in this manner in England, since William the first, which being such, and so much as it was, opened veynes for more to follow, and procured a most hideous revenge; which shortly after insued. Thus is the beame of power turned; and Regality (now in the heavier scale) weighes downe all.

And presently upon this Master-worke, the King both to busie the mindes of his people, and to keepe their hands doing whilst the terror thereof lasted, marches from Yorke with a mighty host (but small provisions) into Scotland. Where the Scots convaying themselves and all succours out of his way, put that want upon him, as confounded his great Army without blowes, forcing him to retурne with much dishonour. And having passed farre within his owne Country, they assayled him at unawares, and had like to have taken his Person, as well as they did his Treasure, with the Earle of Richmond (with whom having miserably ransackt all the Countrey over, even to the Walles of Yorke) they retурne loaden with mighty spoyles safe into Scotland; and this was the successse of this Unfortunate King (not borne for Tryumphes) in his third Scottish expedition.

And now being at leisure, in a calmer humour it seemes, he began to have a sense of the Execution of the Earle of Lancaster, which hee discoures upon this occasion. Some about him making earnest suite to grant a pardon to one of the Earles Followers (a man of meane estate) and pressing him hard thereunto, he falls into a great passion, exclaiming against them as unjust and wicked Councillors, which would urge him so to save the life of a most notorious Varlet, and would not speake one word for his neare kinsman the Earle of Lancaster : Who sayd he, had hee lived might have beeene usefull to mee and

The Lords withdraw into the North parts and are overthrowne.

The execution of the Earle of Lancaster, with divers other Lords in divers places.

The first of any Earle or Baron of England that ever was executed upon Scaffold, or otherwise, since the time of William the first.

The Kings ill successse in Scotland.

The Life and Reigne of Edward the second.

The Earle of
Carleil degra-
ded and execu-
ted.

1324.
Anno
Reg. 17
A Parliament

The king is
deuided a Sub-
sidie.

The Bishop of
Hereford accu-
sed of treason.
He refused to
answer.

The Bishop is
taken from the
barre.

The Bishop
being absent is
condemned ex
Officio.
The presum-
ption of the
Spencers.

The Earle of
Kent sent into
Gascoine.

and the whole Kingdome; but this fellow, the longer hee lives the more mischiefe he will commit, and therefore by the Soule of God, he should dye the death he had deserved. Sir Andrew Harckley who was the man which tooke Prisoner the Earle of Lancaster at Burrough Brigges, being advanced for his service to the Earledome of Carleil, enjoyed his honour but a while: For the next yeaire after, eyther thrust out into discontheit, by the Spencers, envying his high preferment, or combyning with the Scots, allured with the hope of a great Match (as hee was accused) is degraded of all his honours, drawne, hanged and quartered at London for Treason, and remaines amongst the examples of siddaine downe falls from high places, under an instant and ill governing Prince.

Occasion drew on a Parliament to consult, amongst other important busynesses concerning the Sommons lately sent to King Edward, from the new King of France Charles le Bell (who succeeded his brother Phillip de Long) to come and doe his homage for Gascoigne, and it was by the common consent of all decreed that the King should not goe in person at that time, but send some speciaill men to excuse or deferre his appearance.

Besides in this Parliament, the King required a Subsidie both of the Clergie and Laiety, for the redemption of John Brittaine Earle of Richmond, lately taken prisoner by the Scots. But it was denied, and alledged that no contribution ought of right to bee made but for the redemption of the King, the Queen or Prince, and so nothing was there gotten but more displeasure. The Bishop of Hereford was arrested, and accused of high Treason before the King & his Counsell for ayding the Kings enemies in their late rebellion, but he refused to answer (being a consecrated Bishop) without leave of the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose suffragan he was (and who he sayd was his direct Judge next the Pope) or without the consent of the rest of his fellow Bishops, who then all arose and humbly craved the Kings Clemencie in his behalfe; but finding him implacable, they tooke away their fellow Bishop from the Barre, and delivered him to the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury, till some other time the King should appoint for his answer to what hee was charged withall. Shortly after he was againe taken and convented as before, which the Clearyg understanding, the Archbishops, Canterbury, Yorke, and Dublin, with ten other Bishops, all which with their Crosses erected went to the place of Judgement, and againe tooke him away with them, charging all men upon paine of Excommunication to forbear to lay violent hands on him, with which audacious act, the King was much displeased, and presently commanded inquiry to be made *ex officio iudicis*, concerning those objections against the Bishop, wherein he was found guilty, though absent, and had all his goods and possessions seised into the Kings hands.

This act lost him the Clergy, and added power to the discontented party, which was now growne to be all in general, except the Spencers and their followers, who inriched with the spoyles of the Barons, governed all at their pleasure, selling the Kings favour and shutting him up from any others, but where they pleased to shew him: and in this violence which knowes no bounds, they presume to abridge the Queenes of her maintenance, and lessene her houshold traine, which was the rocke whereon they perished.

The proceeding of the King of France against the King of England for the omission of his Homage, was growne so farre, as that all his territories there were adjudged to be forfeited, and many places of importance seised on by the French, whereupon Edmond Earle of Kent the Kings brother is sent into Gascoine, but to little effect, the King of France was before hand, his power ready

The Life and Reigne of Edward the second.

ready and his people in those parts yeelding that way where they saw most force. So that eyther the King of England must goe in person to appease this trouble, or send his Queen to her brother to mediate an accord, otherwise all was there in danger to be lost. For the Kings going in person, the Spencers held it unsafe both for him and them, if hee should leave his Kingdom at home in so great, and generall discontentments as then it was. Wherefore the Queen with a small traime is sent over to accomodate the busynesse, which she negotiates so well, as all quarrells shold be ended upon condition the King of England would give to his sonne Edward the Dutchie of Aquitaine with the Earledome of Ponthieu, and send him overto doe him Homage for the same, which after many consultations the King is wroght to yeeld unto.

The Prince is sent with the Bishop of Exeter and others, to the Court of the King of France, where he was most welcome to his Mother, who herte in had her desire, and being wholly bent to revenge (whereof none are sayd to be more eager then women) found therit, besids her great party in England, those who nourished that humour in her, amongst whom was chiefe Roger Mortimer Lord of Wigmore, lately escaped out of the Tower of London, a gallant young Gentleman whom shee especially favoured. The Bishop of Exeter perceiving some plots to be in hand, and their close consultations made without him, withdrawes secretly from thence, and discovers to the King so much as he observed of their courses. The King sends presently for the Queen and Prince, soliciting withall, the King of France to hasten their returne, which when he saw was neglected and delayed, hee caused them openly to be proclaimed enemies to the Kingdome, banished them and all their adherents out of the Land: and withall causes all the Ports to bee strongly kept, and sends three Admirals to attend on severall Coasts to oppose their landing.

The Queen to inflame her the more, is informed of a plot layd to murther her and the Prince: and either doubting how much the money of England might worke in those should be tempted therewith, or else finding little forwardnesse in her brother to ayde or countenance her course against her husband, withdrawes to the Earle of Haynault being therin a Prince of great meanes, and likewise the Earle of Holland, to whose daughter Philippa shee contracts her sonne the Prince, and gets ayde and mohy of him to transport her into England. Arriving at Harwich with the Prince, the Earle of Kent the Kings brother (whom shee brought with her from the Court of France) the Earle of Pembroke, the Lord Roger Mortimer, and John brother to the Earle of Haynault with 2500. Hethawys and Flemings, she was received with great joy and concourse of all the discontented Nobility and others: and especially by the Bishop of Hereford and Lincoln, who soone resorted unto her, as men who had lost, to recover their fortunes.

The King upon notice of this suddeyn and safe arrivall of the Queen, demands ayde of the City of London, whiche returries answer, That they would with all duty borbir the King, Queen and Prince, but their gates they would shut against all forreiners and traitors to the Realme, and with all their power withstand them. The King with his small Counsell about him, reposing no assurance in this answer (after Proclamation madethat none, upon paine of death should ayde the Queen, and commandement given to destroy all her adherents, onely her owne Person, the Prince, and his brother the Earle of Kent excepted, and that whosoever brought the head of Roger Mortimer should have 1000. pounds) hee leaves the City, conimitting the keeping of the Tower

The Queen is sent to ac-
commodate the busynesse
of France.

The Prince is
sent to doe his
homage for
the Dutchie of
Aquitaine.

The Bishop of
Exeter dis-
covers the
Queens plots.
The Queen
proclaimed
enemy to the
Kingdome.

The Queen
returns with
forces.

Anno
Reg. 19

The King de-
mands ayde of
the City of
London.

The King de-
parts towards
the West.
The Queen
followes.

2 Kings 24.

The Queen's
ProclamationThe King be-
takes him to
the See.Hugh Spencer
the Father
hanged at
Bristol.

Tower to Sir John Wosten with the gard of his yonger sonne John of Eltham, and his Neece the Countesse of Gloucester (first wife to Pierce Gaveston, now of Hugh Spencer the yonger) a Lady unfortunate by the over great fortunes of both her husbands and departs towards the West, hoping to finde ayde in those parts as formerly he had done against the Barons, but he saw the world was altered, and no man there to regard him.

The Queen advertised of his course, marched after him (growing daily greater as she marched) and comes to Oxford, where the Bishop of Hereford preached before her and the whole assembly, and delivers the cause of her proceeding, taking for his Text, *My head aketh, My head aketh*: and concludes most undivinely, that anaking and sicke head of a Kingdome, was of necessity to be taken off, and not otherwise to be cured. A most execrable Doctrine, and repugnant to the sacred Word, which in all corrupted times is evermore produced, to abuse mens Credulity and iustifie Impiety in whatsoever Ambition or Malice shall attempt: sinne beyond all other that can be committed up, on earth. And the more to countenance the Queenes proceeding, it was noysed two Cardinals were seene in her Campe, sent by the Pope to Excommunicate such as tooke Armes against her, and the cause of hers to be for the delivering the Kingdome from the misleaders of the King, the Spencers, the Lord Chancellour, and their adherents, all others to be safe. And here Proclamation is made, *That nothing should be taken from any subject without paying ready money*, and a penalty imposed on whomsoever did the contrary, as for the value of three pence to loose a finger, six pence the hand, twelve pence the head, and that whosoever brought to the Queen the younger Spencers head should have 2000. pounds. Thus is a bad cause defended with shew of Justice, and an unnatural presumption made to seeing right by power and Authority: An impotent Woman led with passion, and abused by wicked Councell, is brought to make head against her owne head, to conduct an innocent sonne against the Father, to undertake an action she knew not how to manage, and to put her selfe into their hands, who having other ends chan-
hers, wold worke beyond, though under her authority, what pleased them-
selves. And though the event (as commonly it doth in such attempts) prove worse than the intention of the undertaker; yet howsoever, the infamy of all
what was acted lies soule and open upon her Memory, and no Apology ex-
tant any way to cover it, and therefore we must leave the same as wee finde
it. And better had it beeene for the honour of the state of England to have
beene without her great Dowry, than to have had her example, the worst
of a Queen, it ever yet had. The miserable King having his reputation (the
maine support of Majesty), blowne up with the hurle-winde of his pursuers,
found few or no handsto ayde him: So that, after he had put Hugh Spencer
the Father into the Castle of Bristol, with what defence could be provided
for the guarding thereof; he leaves to trust the Land, and commits himselfe
to a more unfaithfull element, the Sea, with purpose eyther to hide himselfe a
while in the Isle of Lundy, or to passe over into Ireland; but lost too and fro
with contrary Winds (after Sir Thomas Blunt his Steward with others were
shrunke from him) he lands in Wales in Glamorgan shire; where, though he
found not safety, he found love and was hidde in the Abbey of Nethe.
The Queen with her Army from Oxford goes to Gloucester, where the Lords
Percy and Wake, with ayde from the North, met her; and thence to Bristol:
assayles & wins the Castle: puts to death the defender Hugh Spencer, Earl of
Winchester, without forme or tryall of Law: causing him to bee drawne and
hanged on the common Gallowes in his Coate of armours, cut up before hee
was

was dead, headed and quartered. This done, shee passes to Hereford, and the King being not to be found, Proclamation is made, that if he would returne and conforme himselfe to rule the State as he ought to doe, he should come and receive the government thereof, by the generall consent of his people. But he, either not daring (as destitute both of courage and counsell) to trust to this offer, or not well informed thereof, keeps himselfe still concealed; Whereupon (as may seeme was intended) advantage is taken to dispose of the government, and the Prince who is now under their guard, is made Guardian of the kingdome, hath Fealty sworne unto him, and a new Chancellor and Treasurer are appointed.

Long it was not ere the King came to be discovered, as a person too great for any covet, and was by Henry Earle of Lancaster, brother to the late Thomas, William Lord Zouch, and Iles ap Howell taken & conveyed to the Castle of Kenelworth. The younger Spencer with Baldock the Chancellour, and Simon Reading apprehended with him, are sent to the Queen to Hereford. Spencer (who was now Earle of Gloucester) is drawne and hanged on a Gallows fifty foote high (wherein he was exalted above his Father, otherwise had the like execution) & likewise in his Coate-armor, whereon was written, *Quid gloriariis in malitia, Psal. 52.* Simon Reading was hanged ten foote lower than he: But Baldock in regard he was a Priest, had the favour to be pined to death in Newgate. And here likewise a little before was the Earle of Arundel with two Barons, John Danyll, and Thomas Micheldeuer executed as Traytors by the procurement of Roger Mortimer, for adhering to the Kings part.

To accompany these mischieves of the Countrey, the Commons of London made insurrection, and force their Maior, who held for the King, to take their part, let out all prisoners, possesse them of the Towne, put to death the Constable thereof, Sir John Weston; murther the Bishop of Exeter, to whom they bare an especiall hatred, for that being the Kings Treasurer, hee caused the Justices Itinerants to sit in London, by whom they were grievously fined; and thus all is set out to liberty and confusion.

After a moneths stay at Hereford, the Queen with her sonne returning, kept Christmas at Wallingford, their Candlemas at London, where the Parliament being assembled, agreed to depose the King, as unfit to governe (objeting many Articles against him) and to elect his eldest son Edward: Whiche they did in the great Hall at Westminster, with the universall consent of the people there present, and the Archbishop of Canterbury makes a Sermon upon this Text, *Vox populi, vox Dei*, exhorting the people to invoke the King of Kings for him they had there chosen.

The Queen, either out of the consideration of the difference of a husband and a sonne, (whom now shee was not like long to guide) or through remorse of conscience, looking back upon what shee had done, takes the election grievously to heart, insomuch as her sonne to re-comfort her, swore hee would never accept of the Crowne without the consent of his Father; whereupon by a common decree, three Bishops, two Earles, two Abbots, four Barons, three Knights of every Shire, with a certaine number of Burghesses of every City and Borough, and especially of the Cinque-ports, are sent to the imprisoned King at Kenelworth, to declare unto him the election of his sonne; and to require the rehantiation of his Crowne and Royall dignity; whereunto if hee would not consent, the State was resolvled to proceede as it thought good. The King being first privately made acquainted with the Message (the most harsh to Nature that could bee impar-
ted) and by two, whom he especially hated (for having especially offend-

The King ta-
ken prisoner.A Parliament
at London
where the
Prince is elec-
ted King.1327.
*Anno
Reg. 20*

The King is brought to resign his Crowne.

The forme of his resignation.

His life.

1327.
Anno
Reg. I.

The Queen hath her joyn-
ture enlarged
Twelve especiall men chosen
for the govern-
ment.

dded them) the Bishops of Hereford and Lincolne were brought before the Assembly; to whom as sdone as his passion (wherewith hee was overcharged) would give him leave) hee confessed, How hee had beene misguided (the common excuse of a poore spirit) and done many things whereof now he repented, which if he were to governe againe, he would become a new man, and was most sorrowfull to have so much offended the State, as it should thus utterly rejoyce him; but yet gave them thankes that they were so gracious unto him, as to elect his eldest sonne for King; having spoken to this purpose, they proceed to the Ceremony of his resignation (which chiefly consisted in the surrender of his Crowne) for the forme whereof, being the first that ever was seene in England, they could follow no precedent but must make one, and William Trussell a Judge put it into the Stile of Law, to render it the more authenticall; and pronounced the same in this manner : I William Trussell in the name of all men of the Land of England, and of all the Parliament Procurator, resigne to thee Edward the Homage that was made to thee sometime, and from this time forwards now following, I desie thee and prive thee of all my roiall power, and I shall never bee tendant on thee as King after this time. This was the last act and the first example of a deposed King, no lesse dishonourable to the State than to him. Hee was a Prince more weake than evill, and those exorbitances of his mette with as great or greater in his people, who, as we see, dealt over roughly and uncivilly with him. Hee is reported by some to have bee learned (which perhaps might make him the softer) to have written Verses when he was in prison; to have Founded Oriall Colledge, and Sumry Hall in Oxford.

Hee had by his Wife Isabell two sons, Edward borne at Windsor, who succeeded him, and John surnamed of Eltham, who was created Earle of Cornwall, An. 1315, and dyed in the flowre of his youth in Scotland. And also two Daughters, Ioane matried to David Prince of Scotland, and Elinor to the Duke of Gelders.

The end of the Life and Reigne of Edward the second.

The Life and Reigne of Edward the third.

 Pon the resignation of Edward the second : Edward his sonne of the age of fourteene yeares, began his Reigne the twentieth of Januari 1327, and sends forth Proclamations of his Peace into all Shires, in this forme : Edward by the Grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, to N. N. our Sherife of S. greeting. Wheras the Lord Edward, late King of England our Father, by the Common Concell and assent of the Prelates, Earles, Barons, and other Chiese men, with the whole Communalty of this Realme, did voluntarily amouede himselfe from the Government thereof, willing and granting that we as his eldest Sonne and Heire, shoud assume the same, &c. Which Proclamation made to palliate a wrong, did but the more discover it. Within five dayes after hee was crowned at Westmister by Walter Archbisshop of Canterbury : At which solemnity the Queen made shew of great sorrow and heavinessse, but beeing after pacified by the enlargement of her Joyniture (which tooke up three parts of the Kings Revenues) shee beganne to bee of better cheere. Twelve especiall men are heere appointed to manage the affaires of the Kingdome, till the King were of fit yeares to governe of himselfe : The Archbisshops of Canterbury and Yorke, the Bishops of Winchester, Hereford, and Worcester, Thomas Bro-

therton

therton Earle Marshall, Edmond Earle of Kent, John Earle Warrein, Thomas Lord Wake, Henry Lord Piercy, Oliver Lord Ingham, and John Lord Rose; but the Queen and Roger Lord Mortimer usurped this charge, and tooke all wholly to themselves. And to busie the present and uphold this Change, an expedition instantly is undertaken for Scotland, wherein (those strangers still retained which the Queen brought over with her) are employed under the conduct of the Lord John Beaumont brother to the Earle of Haynault, and at Yorke the whole Army were to meete, where the English (being not all of a party) quarrell with those strangers, and so great a conflict arose betweene them as cost some blood, and was hardly appeased, an ill presage of that journey.

At Stanhope Parke the English Army encounter the Scottissh, and though the English were thrice greater, and might presently have vanquished them, yet by the treason of some great men (as it was bruited) they escaped all away, and nothing was done; so that the young King borne for victories, was deprived the honour of his first action, which yet, being not conducted by his owne spirir, was held more dishonourable to others than to him. Vpon their retурne, all the Hannowayes and Stipendiaries are sent home into their owne Countries.

During this busynesse, the deposed King remaines prisoner at Killingworth, with the allowance of a hundred Markes a moneth for his expences, deprived of all those comforts the world shoulde yeld him. His wife whom hee loved (though now the Author of all his misery) sends unto him letters and apparell, but excuseth her comming as being not permitted by the State: Neither was he thought safe enough where he was, nor so straitly lookest unto as they desired to have him, being in the custody of his Uncle the Earle of Lancaster; and therefore they commit him to other Guardians, and men of the most rough natures could bee found, the Lord Matrevers and Thomas Gourney, who from thence removed him to the Castle of Berckley in Gloucester-shire, where long he staid not, but was conveyed to Corfe Castle, and thence to other places up and downe to beguile and disappoint his friends, by the uncertainty of his being, if any plot were laid (which they doubted) to restore him. Besides, to disguise him the more, and that he might nor be easily known, they shave his head & beard, which as a servant of his Sir Thomas de la More, a Knight of Gloucester-shire reports (who wrote his life) was done in the open fields, by the commandement of Gourney, who most barbarously caused the miserable King to sit on a Mole-hill whilst the Barber shaved him, and to take cold water out of a ditch to wash him withall, which the patient King (saith this Reporter) seeing, told them, That in despight of them he would have warme water at his Barbing, and therewithall shed abundance of teares. Other vyle reproaches this savage Taylor put upon his annoynted Sovereign, as he re-conveyed him back to Berckley Castle, where shortly after he and Matrevers caused him to be murthered in a most hideous manner, by thrusting up a hot iron into his bowels through an hollow instrument, whereby no outward note might appeare to bowray how he came by his death: For the body being after laid forth, and viewed by many substantiall Citizens of Bristol and Gloucester (called thither for that purpose) they could finde no signe either of wound or poysen, so that their evidence confirmed the report that was given out, how he died of extreame griefe. This was the end of Edward the second, within eight moneths after his deposing.

The dead-doers Matrevers and Gourney though they had Commission

V 2

An expedition into Scotland.

The Scots retire from Stanhope Parke, and nothing done.

The miserabl state of the imprisoned King.

He is murthe red at Berckley Castle.

and

and great hopes given them to doe as they did, yet being by those who were ashamed to vow it, they durst not abide the triall, but as fugitives fled presently their Countrey : *Gourney* three years after was taken at *Merselles*, and murthered on the sea before he came to *England*, that hee might tell no tales who set him on worke. But this was not all the blood this deede cost, the judgement of God fell heavily, not onely upon the great contrivers, but even upon the whole kingdome : and what the issue of this present Prince, whose throne (though without his guilt) was thus set up on his fathers blood, sustainted in after-ages, the many imbrued scaffolds, the divers bloody fields, the infinite slaughters in the civill discord of their divided families, which the consumed race of the most part of all this present Nobility will testifie. But now for the present, the authors of this change use all meanes to increase and fortifie their owne fortunes, whilst the State in generall receives no great satisfaction thereby. Mens expectations are not answered in that manner as they were conceived. The Queene Mother and her Minion Mortimer (lately created Earle of the Marches of *Wales*) guide all, and all that is not well done, or amisse in the Government, is now attributed to them and their Councell : So that discontentments ingender new factions according to the nature of turbulent times.

The Kings marriage with *Philippa of Haynault* is solemnized, and a Parliament is held at *Northampton*, where a dishonourable peace is concluded with the *Scots*, and confirmed by a match betweene *David Bruce* Prince of *Scotland*, son to *Robert Bruce*, and *Ioane* sister to the King of *England*, which match by reason of the tender age of the Prince, being but seven yeares old, could promise little good. Besides, by the secret working of the Queene Mother, the Earle of *March*, and *Sir James Douglass*, *The King surrenders by his Charter his title of Sovereignty to the Kingdome of Scotland, restores divers deedes, and instruments of their former Homages and Fealties, with the famous evidence called the Ragman Role, & many ancient Jewels and monuments, amongst which was the Black Crosse of Scotland, &c.* Moreover any Englishman is prohibited to hold lands in *Scotland*, unless he dwelt there. In consideration whereof King *Bruce* was to pay 30 thousand Markes. Shortly after another Parliament is held at *Winchester*, where *Edmound Earle of Kent*, brother to the late deposed King, is accused and condemned upon his confession, for intending the restoring of his brother, and conferring with divers great men concerning the same, but without any manner of fact. This miserable Earle stood on the scaffold from one till five, and no executioner could be found to dispatch him, at length a silly wretch of the *Marshalsey* cut off his head.

These violences and unpleasing courses in a new alteration, could not long hold without effecting another, which the next year produced. A Parliament is held at *Nottingham*, wherein all the power and glory of the Queene and Mortimer (being scarce of three years growth) were overthrown ; the Queene hath all her great joyniture taken from her, and put to her pension of 1000 pounds per annum ; Mortimer is accused to have procured the late Kings death ; to be the Author of the Scots safe escaping from *Stanhope Parke*, corrupted with the gift of 20000 pounds : to have procured the late marriage, and peace with *Scotland*, so dishonourable to the King and kingdome : to have consumed the Kings Treasure, besides all what was taken from the Spencers, to have bee too familiar with the Queene, &c. And for these hainous offences is condemned of high Treason, sent up to *London*, drawne and hanged at the common Gallowes at the *Elms*, now called *Tyburne*, where his body remained 2 dayes as an opprobrious spectacle for all beholders. Such were the tragical

1328
Anno
Reg. 2.
A Parliament
at North.
A dishonour-
able peace
made with
Scotland.

A Parliament
at *Nottingham*.

Articles a-
gainst Morti-
mer.

He is hanged
at *Tiborne*.

tragical and bloody returns, those ambitious supplacers of others, got by exchange of the time, which now, may seeme, made the world weary of such violences, and more wary to runne into them. And the King growing to yeares of more abilitie to governe of himselfe, wrought a greater respect of his service in those who were of power about him, seeing him to be of a spirit likely to goe through with his worke, and therefore they use their best advice to put him into courses that might bee most honourable for him and the kingdome. The staines which his youth had received by such as governed the same, are now discovered, and meanes devised how to take them off. And withall, occasions fall out to put him into action.

And first, a new King of *France* lately crowned (upon the death of *Charles le Bell* without issue Male) requires his homage according to the custome for the Dutchy of *Guien* and his other lands in *France* held of that Crowne : whereunto though King *Edward* was supposed to have the better right, yet seeing *Philip de Valois* was now in possession of the same, and himselfe then young, his owne kingdome factious, turbulent, and unsetled, hee was not as yet otherwife than by Law (which seldom gets a Crowne) able to debate his Title ; and therefore is content to temporize, and goe over in person to performe this ceremony, which did much prejudice his after claime, laid an imputation upon the justnesse of his cause, having thereby acknowledged & made good the right of his Competitor.

The difference betwene them stood thus : *Philip le Bell* Father to *Isabell Mother to King Edward*, had three sonnes, *Louys*, *Philip*, and *Charles*, which all were successively Kings of *France*, and died without any issue male to inherite the kingdome ; and notwithstanding *Louys* the eldest son had a daughter, whom *Eudes Earle of Bologne* her Uncle by the mother laboured to have crowned Queene ; yet for that it was adjudged contrary to the *Salique Law*, which debarred Women from the succession, *Philip* the younger brother of *Louis* is admitted to the Crowne : This *Philip* likewise left foure daughters, and yet doth *Charles* his brother succeede him by the force of the same Law (which passed now as a case adjudged) without any controversy. *Charles* dying, leaves his wife young with childe : difference arises about the Regencie of that kingdome, between King *Ed.* of *England* the Neephew, & *Philip de Valois*, Cozen-german to the last King *Charles*. This *Philip* was the first Prince of the blood, sonne to *Charles de Valois*, brother to *Philip le Bell*. And though King *Edward* was in degree neerer than hee, yet was the Regencie adjudged to *Philip* (if the Queene brought foorth a sonne) as descending from a brother more capable of the Crowne, than King *Edward* descending from a daughter that was uncapable as they alledged.

The Queene at length delivered of a daughter the processe is ended, and *Philip* received and crowned King of *France* by their *Salique Law*, maintained to be unviolable. *Robert de Artois* a Peere of great power, was a speciall meanes of his preferment, and the exclusion of King *Edward*, who shortly after upon Summons given (as is aforesaid) godes over and medtes King *Philip* at *Amiens*, where, by the Councils of both Kings two especiall points are debated, the one concerning the quality of the Homage, pretended liege by the Council of King *Philip*, but denied by that of King *Edward*. The second point, for the Lands in *Guien*, which the last King *Charles* had detained at his, whereof the Council of King *Edward* demanded resistancione, as appertaining to that Dutchy. The Composition for this last point was easie, in regard of the Treatise of peace made betweene the said King *Charles* and

King *Edward* is summond to doe his hommage to *Philip de Valois* King of *France*.

The Title of
King *Edward*
to the Crowne
of *France*.

1331
Anno
Reg. 5.

The Life and Reigne of Edward the third.

Iean Tille.
King Edward
deth homage
to the French
King.

The forme of
the homage.

King Edward
returns out
of France, en-
tertains the
Scottish busi-
nesses.

Edward Balliol
comes out of
Frances, de-
fected his oppo-
sitors, and is
crowned King
of Scotland.

and Edward the second, the last of May 1325, wherein their rights were saved by protestations, reciprocally advised, and received in offer and acceptance of Homage made to the said King Charles by this Edward before hee was King, which protestations were agreed to be followed and repeated in this, with covenant, that if King Edward would pursue his right in Parliament, hee should have Justice done him accordingly for those things in controversie. Now for the first point concerning the quality of his Homage, it was accorded without specifying the same, that it should bee done and received according to the usuall manner of former Kings, with sufficient time granted to King Edward to inquire of the said quality, and to make his declaration thereof. And thereupon the sixt of June 1329, King Edward in a crimson Velvet gowne imbroydered with Leopards, with his Crowne on his head, his Sword by his side, and golden Spurres on his heeles, presents himselfe in the body of the Cathedrall Church at Amiens before King Philip, sitting in a Chaire of Estate in a Velvet Gowne of a Violet colour, imbroydered with Flowres d'Oris of Gold, his Crowne on his head, and his Scepter in his hand, with all his Princes and Peeres about him. The Viscount Melun Chamberlaine of France, first commands King Edward to put off his Crowne, his Sword, and his Spurres, and to kneele downe, which hee did on a crimosine Velvet Cushion before King Philip, and then the Viscount putting both his hands together betweene the hands of the King of France, pronounced the words of the Homage, which were these: *You become Liegeman to the King my Master here present as Duke of Guyene and Peere of France, and you promise to beare Faith and Loyaltie unto him.* Say Ye, and King Edward said Yes, and kissthe King of France (as the Lord of the Fee) in the mouth; the like Homage hee then did for the Earledome of Panthieu.

This act of submission performed in the person of a King, young, active, haughty, and powerfull, who held himselfe wronged in doing it to whom he did, bred that rancor in his heart, as it had beeene better for all Christendome that ceremony had beeene spared at this time, and not so punctually beeene exacted by King Philip, whom their owne Historians blame for standing so much upon his Regality, with one as mighty as himselfe, and more able and likely to shake his new gotten Throne than any other whatsoeuer: to whose passion considering the fiery heate of his youth, hee should rather have ministred Oyle than Vineger, and more hospitably entertained him in his Court comming with that State and Magnificence, as hee did, attended with the best of all the Kingdom of England to shew what he was, and to beget a respect of his high estate. But these are the errours of improvident Princes, who carried with the sway of their owne will, imbroyle themselves and their subjects, that ever suffer the worst & are sure to pay dearely for others failts.

And now thus wounded in reputation, with a minde swolne for revenge, the King of England returns to settle his affaires at home, where Scottish businesse fall out to entartaine him. The late peace concluded with them is held so dishonourable, (as it must not hold) and to breake the same followed an occasion begun upon their owne quarrels. The tender age of their King (the affliction of kingdomes) with the emulation and factions in great men, put Edward Balliol sonne to John Balliol (sometime King of Scotland) thirty two yeares after his Fathers deposition, to attempt the recovery of that Crowne. And out of France, where he had all that while remained, hee comes by the sollicitation of his friends into England, where hee was permitted under hand to ge ayde, and had all such Scots and English whiche were

The Life and Reigne of Edward the third.

of the faction against Bruce to take his part, and with them he suddenly assayles those who had the government of that kingdome, during the nonage of the young King David (being at that time with the King of France) and overcame them in a battaile, with the slaughter of many Noblemen, and thousands of the common people, and thereupon was immediately crowned King of Scotland at Scone. But this party being not so potent as they could maintaine and defend his quarrell against all those which opposed it, he was forced notwithstanding this great defeite, to retire him into England to get more ayde of King Edward; who now shewes himselfe in the actions, joynes with Balliol against his brother-in-law King David, goes in person with a strong Army to recover Berwick, which after three moneths siege, being valiantly defended by the Lord Seton, was againe taken in, and the Army of the Scots which came to the rescue thereof, at Halidowne hill utterly defeated: where were slaine seven Earles, 90 Knights and Baronets, four hundred Esquires, and about two and thirty thousand common souldiers, as our Writers report, theirs fourteene thousand. And with the effusion of blood is Balliol returned to his miserable kingdome.

In this oppugnation of Berwick, though my haste be great, I must not so much trespassse Vertue, as to overpassse one memorable particular, recorded by the Scottish Writers, which is, how the Lord Seton seeing all reliete failing, and the assaults violent, as hee could not long hold out, conditions with King Edward, if rescue came not at such a day to render him up the Towne, and for assurance delivers him two of his sonnes. Shortly after King Edward, having notice of the Scottish Army, approaching with greater power and speede than hee expected, and likely to bee there before the day, summons the Lord Seton to render the Towne presently, otherwise hee should see his two sonnes executed before his face, and withall a Gallowes is made ready within sight of the Towne, the young Gentlemen brought forth and under the hand of the Executioner; Wherewith the distressed Lord, rent betwene those powerfull passions of Nature and Honour, standing doubtfull what to doe, his Wife the Mother of those sonnes, a Lady more than a Woman, comes unto him, exhorts him *To remember his Fealty sworne to the King, his Charity to his Country, the dignity of his noble Family, that they had other children left though these were destroyed, and besides themselves were not so old, but that they might have more.* How those, if they should bee preserved from death at this time, might otherwise shortly perish by some worse occasion: *And what a staine bee should lay on the name of Seton, and their posterity for ever, by a base act of yeelding and betraying the place committed unto him:* whereby also hee was not certaine whether hee should preserve his children or no: For how could he hope that this King, who had violated his first promise with him, would performe the last. *And therefore besought him that hee would not preferre an uncertaine and momentary benefite, before a certaine and perpetuall ignominy.* And so recovering the Lords resolution for holding out, withdrew him from the Walls, into some other parts aside, that he might not be spectator of the execution of his innocent Children. *On the next day hee was brought to the scaffold.* The next yeaer after this defeite at Halidowne Hill, Edward Balliol King of Scots, at New Castle doth Homage to the King of England as his superiour Lord, and takes his Oath of Fealty, binding himselfe and his heires to hold that Kingdome of him and his successors for ever, with the inheritance of five Countees neare adjoyning to the borders, to sayle a part yeelds lie to forgoe, rather than to be in danger to lose the whole, which yet could not secur his estate, but rather imbroyled it the more, by reason of the discontent which

Berwick re-
covered.

The Battell of
Halidowne hill.

A memorable
act in the op-
pugnation
of Berwick.

Anno
Reg. 7.

Edward Balliol
doth homage
for the king-
dome of Scot-
land.

A Parliament
at London.

A remarkable
consideration.

1336
Anno
Reg. 10

Robert de Ar-
tois discon-
tented with the
French King.

Jean Tillet.

Robert de Ar-
tois comes into
England.

most part of the Nobles of *Scotland* conceived upon this act of alienation, and subjection of their Countrey; insomuch as it gave both Kings continual occasion of trouble for a long time after, with the expence of infinite Treasure. There was granted to the King of *England* for these Wars a fifteenth of the *Temporalities*, a twelfe of Cities and Boroughes, and a tenth of the Clergy, in a Parliament holden at *London*. And three yeares together the King goes in person with Armies into those parts, and never returned without destruction and blood-shed of that afflicted people: in somuch as it may move us to admire, how it could bee possible, that little corner of this Isle, being no more fertile, and withall so often wasted, could breed so many (had it bred nothing but men) as had beene slaine in battell within these fifty yeares past, and yet still to be able to supply and furnish their fields with such numbers as they did, both to maintaine their owne quarrels, defend their liberties, and that poore ground they dwelt upon, which was not worth so much blood as it cost them, deserving to have had a better peece of earth, and a more perspicuous place in the world to have shewed those acts of magnanimity and courage, as they did.

The reason that moved King *Edward* with such violence to prosecute the busynesse of *Scotland*, was out of a desire so to settle the same, as he might be wholly for the designes he had upon *France*, which chiefly he intended, and was the sooner put thereinto by the instigation of *Robert de Artois*, who being chased from thence by King *Philip* his brother-in-law, comes over into *England*, and here is entertained with great honour.

This *Robert* a Prince of the blood of *France*, descended from *Robert* sonne to *Louis* the eighth, brother to *S. Louis*, had long contention with *Maud* his Aunte Countesse of *Burgogne* about the Earledome of *Artois*; and presuming upon his owne power, his alliance with King *Philip*, who had married his sister, and the service hee had done in advancing him to the Crowne, counterfeites a Decede thereby to overthrow his Auntes right, which being afterward discovered, made it the more, and moved the French King to give judgement on her side, so that the County of *Artois* was by arrest of Parliament confirmed upon *Maud*, which so offended *Robert*, as in his rage he openly said, *He would unmake the King by the same power he made him*: Which rash menace uttered before many witnesses, so stung the French King, as presently he layes to apprehend him, but failing therein, causes him to bee proclaimed *Traytor*, confiscates all his estate, forbids his Subjects whosoever, either without or withint the kingdome, which held of that Crowne, in any sort to receive him, comfort, counsell, or ayde him, upon paine of confiscation of body and goods: And withall charges them by any meanes to seise upon his person, and to send him prisoner unto him. Whereupon this chased Prince, finding no place on that side safe for him, over hee comes into *England*, is joyfully entertained by King *Edward*, made of his Councell, invested in the Earledome of *Richmond*, and here is he the Kindle-fire betweene these two mighty Nations, and began such a flame, as lasted above an hundred yeares after, and the smoake thereof much longer. First hee discovers to King *Edward* the secrets of their Councells at *France*, and what meanes had beene used for the advancement of King *Philip*, whose Title hee now disapproves, and prefers that of King *Edward*, as most just; and a Declaration is published and sent to the Pope, and all the neighbour Princes, shewing the usurpation of *Philip de Valois* upon that Crowne.

Now had King *Edward* ever sincke his returne from *Amiens*, prepared to make

make good his party to oppole the French King, and by the assistance of his Father-in-law *William* Earle of *Haynault*, combined with the Dukes of *Babant* and *Gelders*, the Earle of *Juliers*, the Archbishop of *Cologne*, *Valerian* his brother, *John* of *Haynault*, and other Princes of *Germany*. And besides, had of late obtained by great gifts of *Louys de Barier*, the present Emperour, to be Vicar Generall of the Empire, whereby he was to have all those Princes confiners upon *France*, who held of the same, to doe him service. And this grace the Emperour did him, the rather for that he had stood for him against his competitor *Frederick of Austria*, with whom the French King tooke part; and besides hee had married King *Edwards* wives sister, which might be a motive to procure him this honour. Then seekes he to gaine and draw in the *Flemings*, whose Earle though adhering to the French King as his Vassall; yet the Cities which ever entertained a kinde of liberty amoung themselves, were easily won to take part with King *Edward*, in regard their wealth chiefly grew by the Wools of this kingdome, which by a Parliament holden at *London*, Anno Reg. 9. were prohibited to be transported unwrought. That Clothes should be made here, and habitation with all Priviledges and Liberties allowed to such Artificers as would come from other parts to inhabit. Besides it was enacted, that none should weare other than English Cloth, except the King, Queene, and their Children; that no man should weare any facine of silkes or furres, but such as could dispense 100 pounds per annum. But those Ordinances (more beneficiale to this kingdome than these Wars will be) were upon this new entertained correspondence with the people of *Flanders*, soone after neglected; but yet the making of cloth continued, and many come out of *Flanders* to exercize that trade in *England*.

Now there was among the *Flemings* one *Iaques de Arteville*, Citizen of *Gaunt*, a Brewer as some say (but of more than Beere) a man of greatest estimation amongst the people, and was as their Tribune or Chiefetaine in their tumults; him King *Edward* gets by great rewards to take his part, and thereby had them all ready to assayle the French King upon any occasion.

Having thus prepared his party abroad, all meanes are devised to raise monies at home to supply this busynesse. A tenth penny of Townes and Boroughs, a fifteenth of others, and a tenth of the Clergy is granted in a Parliament at *Northampton*. All such treasure as was committed to Churches throughout England for the holy Warre, is taken out for the Kings use in this. The next yeaer after, all the goods of three Orders of Monkes, Lombards, Cluniagues, and Cistercences, are likewise seised into the Kings hands, and the like Subsidie as before granted at *Nottingham*. Honours are likewise bestowed on many Noblemen to encourage them in this intended action. Henry of *Lancaster* the younger is created Earle of *Derby*, *William Mountacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, *Hugh Audley* Earle of *Glocester*, *William Clinton* Earle of *Huntingdon*, *William Bohun* Earle of *Northampton*, *Robert Yfford* Earle of *Suffolke*: Prince *Edward* was likewise at this time created Earle of *Chester*, and Duke of *Cornwall*. In Anno Reg. 12. at a Parliament at *Northampton*, (as some write in the absence of the King) was granted by the Laity, one halfe of their wools, but of the Clergy was leaved the whole, and they were caused to pay nine Markes for every sack of fine Wool. The next yeaer after a fifteenth was likewise paid in Wooll by the Communalty. And now for the better managing of this worke abroad (having well accommodated the Scottish affaires) he goes over into *Flanders*, takes with him the Queene and Children, lyes at *Antwerp*, whete, by perswasion of the *Flemings* he tooke upon him the Stile, Title, and Atties of the King of *France*, whereby they held they might the better justifie their partaking in his

King Edward
made Vicar
General of
the Empire.

The making of
cloth introdu-
ced in this
kingdome.
The first sumptu-
tary Law we
find in our
History.

King Edward
wins Iaques de
Arteville

Meanes used
for Money.

1338

Anno

Reg. 12.

A Subsidie of
Wooll:
King Edward
goes into Plan-
ders with his
wife and chil-
dren.

The French
Kings part-
akers.

Meanes to ap-
peale these
two Kings.

The French
King seizes
on the Duchy of
Guyen.
King Edward
enters into
France.

Froissart.

The Knights
of the Hare.

1330

Anno
Reg. 14

A Parliament
at London.

his quarrell, and dispence with their Oath formerly made to the French King, having besides bound themselves in 20 hundred thousand Crownes, never to beare Armes against the King of France, and thereupon the league was established betweene them and King Edward. The French King was not behinde in his preparations and confederacies, having to take his part the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of Rhene (who covenanted to serve him against King Edward and his adherents with three hundred Horse for 5600 Florins.) The Bishop of Menth, Albert and Otho Dukes of Aufrich, Theodore Marquesse of Monferat, Amé Earle of Geneva, besides many Princes of Estate, and divers great Captaines out of Germany, French-county, Savoy, Dauphine, Spaine and other Countries. So that all the best of the Christian World are either in Armes, or ayding in this quarrell, betweene these two mighty Kings. Long were they preparing and making a noyse before they came to grapple: and much was wrought by the Pope, and the King of Sicile a great Astrologer, who devined by skill he had in the Starres of much future calamity to France, to have accorded them, which would not be.

The preface of this Warre began on the Borders of each others State: On this side King Edward sets upon Cambrey defended by the French. Philip on the other, seizes on the Duchy of Guyen, and thither fends Conte d' Eu Constable of France, with the Earles of Foix and Arminiaque, who surprize many strong peeces thereof: Besides, hee hath a great Navy at Sea which committed much spoyle on the coast of England. King Edward enters France by the way of Vermandois and Thierache, approaches neere to King Philip: Both Armies were lodged betweene Viron soffe, and la Flamen-guere, the day of the fight appointed upon the Friday after, the Battels on both sides made ready, the advantage of number was on the French; but both Armies furnished with brave men of Warre, and circumspet, depart without encounter; the French esteeming it no discretion to put the person and state of their King to the hazard of battell within his owne Kingdome: and the English consisting of lesse number, thought fit not to assayle them: and so they passed the day in countenances, and nothing was done. Only this accident fell out, which after gave matter of sport: A Hare starting before the head of the French Army, a great shout was suddenly made, which they who were behinde supposing to have beeene upon the on-set of a Battell, disposed themselves to fight; some Esquires for their more encouragement, are according to the custome presently knighted, who were ever after called Knights of the Hare.

The next morning early both Kings dislodge, the French retires to Paris, the King of England into Brabant, where after he had strongly fastened his Confederates, and disposed of his affaires, he leaves the Queerie and returnes into England about Candlemasse, having beeene in Brabant about a yeare, lands at the Towre about Midnight, (and finding it unguarded, was much displeased) fends for the Maior of London, whom he commanded to bring before him the Chancellour & Treasurer, with John S. Paul, Michael Watch, Philip Thorp, Henry Stratford Clergy-meau (who it seemes were Officers for his receites) and John Sconer Justice of the Bench: All which, except the Chancellour were arrested and committed to prison, as were afterward in like manner divers Officers of Justice and Accountants upon inquiry made of their unjust proceeding.

Then calls hee a Parliament at London in Lent, which granted unto him for custome of every fack of Wooll 40 shillings; for every 300 wooll-felts 40 shillings; for

for every fack of Leather forty shillings; and of other Merchandises according to that rate; the same to indure from that Easter to the Whitson tide twelve moneth after. Besides, there was granted of Citizens and Burgeses, a ninth part of goods; of forreigne Merchants and other a fifteenth, of Husbandmen tenth of the Clergy. And for his present supply, hee had loanes of divers persons, and the City of London lent 20000 Markes. For the grant of which mighty Subsidy, the King (besides his Pardon to divers kindes of offenders,) remits all Amercements for transgression in his Forrests, Reliefs and Scutage unto the first time of his going into Flanders: Besides all aydes for the marriages of his Sonnes and Daughters during his regne: pardoning and remitting all ancient debts and arrearages both of his Fermours and others any way due in the time of his progenitors and his owne, till the tenth yeare of his Reigne, (excepting such as were compounded for, and determined to be paid into his Exchequer) and heere he likewise conserues the great Charter.

During King Edwards abode in England, William Montagne Earle of Salibury, and Robert Vfford Earle of Suffolke, left in Flanders to oppose the proceeding of the French, having performed divers great exploits with happy successe, and presuming overmuch upon their fortune, were in an encounter about Lysle, so overlaide by multitude, as they were both taken and sent prisoners to Paris, to the great joy of the French King: who now to impeach the King of Englands returne, had prepared a mighty Navy in the Haven of Sluce, consisting of two hundred Sayle of ships (besides many Galleyes) and two thousand arm'd men in the Port, ready to encounter him upon his landing: Whereof King Edward being advertised, provides great strength, with the like number of ships, and sets out at Sea upon Midsummer Eve, is met the morrow after with a Navy likewise from the North parts, conducted by Sir Robert Morley, and encounters his Enemy which lay to intercept him, with such force and courage, and advantage of winde and sunne, as he utterly defeated their whole Navy, tooke or sunke all their ships, slue thirty thousand men, and landed with as great glory, as such a victory (the greatest that ever before was gotten by the English at Sea) could yeed. Most of the French, rather than to endure the Arrowes, and sharpe Swords of the English, or be taken, desperately leape into the Sea. Whereupon the French Kings lester, set on to give him notice of this overthrow (which being so ill newes, none else willingly would impart on the sudden) said, and oftentimes reiterated the same; Cowardly Englishmen, Dastardly Englishmen, Faint-hearted Englishmen. The King at length asked him Why: For that, said he, They durst not leape out of their shippes into the sea, as our brave Frenchmen did. By which speech the King apprehended a notion of this overthrow: which the French attribute to Nicholas Buchet one of their chiefe Commanders, who had armed his shippes with men of base condition (content with small pay) and refused Gentlemen, and sufficient Souldiers, in regard they required greater wages: and it often happens, that the Avarice of Commanders have beeene the occasion of great defets.

But this losse much abated the power of the French King, who notwithstanding in these Martiall times was soone supplied, both out of his owne Dominions, and those of his Confederates, and makes a mighty head against this victorious, powerfull, and freshly furnished King of England; who suddenly set downe before Tournay, with all his owne and his adherents Forces. And from Ebyn (a place neare by where hee lodged) fends his Cartill the 17 of July, to Philip de Valois, lodging at S. Andrew les Aire with his puissant

Great subsidies
granted.
Custome ac-
tive but tem-
porary.

Pardons and
Remission of
ancient debts.

Retribution.

The Earles of
Salisbury and
Suffolke taken
prisoners in
France.

King Edward
vanquishes the
French Kings
great Navy.

Tounay.

King Edward
besieges Tou-
nay, and sends
his challenge
to the French
King.

puissant Army, declaring how he with the power of his owne kingdome, and ayde of the Flemings, was come to recover his right in the kingdome of France unjustly detayned from him, contrary to the Lawes of God and man: and that seeing no other meanes would serve, he was forced in this manner to have recourse to his sword. Notwithstanding seeing the busynesse was betwene them two, he offred for the avoyding of Christian blood, and devestation of the Countrey, to try the same by combate in close Campe body to body, or each of them accompanied with 100 choyce persons: which if the said Philip refused, then to strike battell within ten dayes after, before the City of Tourney.

Philip de Valois returnes answer the last of July in this manner, Philip by the grace of God King of France, to Edward King of England: We have perused your letters sent to the Court of Philip de Valois, containing certaine requests to the said Philip: and for that it appeares those letters and requests were not written or made unto us, we will in no sort answer you. But seeing by those letters, and otherwise we understand how you led by wilfulnesse, without all reason, have entred our Kingdome of France with armed power, and committed no small damage in the same, and on our people, contrary to the duty of a Liege-man: having lately sworne Homage unto us, acknowledging us, as by right King of France, and have promised that obediencie which is due from the Vassall to his Liege-lord, as is manifest by your Letters Patents under your great Seale, which wec have with us, and you likewise ought to have the same with you. And therefore our intention is as becomes our Honour, to chase you out of our Kingdome, as wee firmly hope in Christ (from whom we have our power) to doe. For that by this your warre, most wickedly begun, our journey undertaken for the East is hindred; no small number of Christians theremurdered, the holy service neglected, and the Church dishonoured. And whereas you alledge you possee the ayde of the Flemings, wee are assuredly persuaded, that they with the Communallity of their Countrey, will so beare themselves towards our counseil their Earle and us their superior Lords, as they will not omit to observe their honour and fidelity, whatsoever hath beeene by some, through ill counsell perpetrated for their owne private, contrary to the common good.

The French write, how King Philip with this Letter sent word to King Edward, how by his Cartell he adventured nothing of his owne, but only exposed the dominion of another, which was without all reason. If he would hazard the kingdome of England, (though it were leſſe) against the kingdome of France, the said king Philip wouldeste combate in close camp with him, on condition the Victor should enjoy both kingdomes. But that, they say, K. Edward would not doe.

Three moneths the siege of Tourney had continued (and nothing effected but the waste of the Countrey about) all the eyes of Christendome bent upon this action; both kingdomes deeply ingaged, expecting with anxiety the doubtful event therof, when Jane de Valois sister to Philip, widow of William late Duke of Haynault, and mother to Philippa wife to King Edward, a Princesse of excellent vertue, came from Fountenelles where shee had rendered her selfe a Nun, vowed to God, to mediate a peace betwene these two enraged Kings, her brother and her sonne-in-law, and labours to stay the sword of destruction lift up for blood, travailing from one to another (stubbornely bent to their intentions) & never left them (though often denied) till shee had with great patience, and wise counsell qualified their boylng passions, in such sort as shee obtained day and place for both Kings to parle together. A memorable worke to be effected by a woman, especially in such an age of Iron as that was. This parle brought forth a truce for one year, and both these great Armies are dissolved. The French King returnes home,

The French
Kings answer
to the Chal-
lenge.

A mediation
for peace.

A Truce con-
cluded.

Anno
Reg. 35.

and so doth the King of England with his Queene: who had remained in those parts three yeares, and had there brought forth two sonne, Lionel, afterwards Duke of Clarence, and John boine at Gant, who first was Earle of Richmond, and after Duke of Lancaster.

But King Edwards condescending to this suddaine truce, had indeede no other motife than the want of his supplies of Treasure, which came shortly to his expectation, notwithstanding those mighty impositions which were layd on his Subjects. And whereas he had upon his last returne into England, in great displeasure, remooved his Chancellour, & imprisoned his Treasurer, with other Officers (most of them Clergy men) and still held them in du-rance, John Stratford Archibishop of Canterbury, (on whom the King layd the blamme of his wants) writeth him a most bold and peremptory Letter to this effect shewing him, How it was for the safety of Kings and their Kingdomes, to use grave and wise Counsellors, alledging many examples out of holy Writs of the flourishing happiness of such as tooke that course, and their infelicite who followed the oppposite. Then wills him to remember how his father led by evill counsell vexed the Kingdome, putting to death, contrary to the Law of the Land, divers of the Nobility, and wished him to consider what hapned thereby unto him. Also to shew him how himselfe at first, through evill Counsell about him, had almost lost the hearts of his people. But afterwards, by the great circumstaunce, and care of his Prodigts and Nobles, his affaires were reduced into so good order as hee recovered them, and now possessed them in such sorte, as they all, both Clergy and Lay, have seeld their helping hands, more to him than to any of his Progenitirs, whereby he had gloriously Triumphed over his enemies, the French and Scots, and is repared the noblest Prince of Christendome. But now at this present, through the wicked counsell of such as affect their owne profit more than his honour, or the welfare of his people, he had caused Clergy men and others to be arrested, and held in prison by the unture proceeding, contrary to the Lawes of England (which he was bound by his oath at his Coronation to observe) and against Magna Charta, whosoever shall presume to infringe, etc. to bee by the Prelates (according to the Bull of Pope Innocent the fourth) Excommunicate. So that hereby he incurred no small danger to his soule, and detriment to the State and honour. Then he tells him, how he doubted that if the King proceeded in this manner, he should lose both the hearts of his people and their helpe, in such sorte as he should not be able to prosecute his War in hand, and thereby give his enemis heart and occasion to rise against him, to the hazard of his honour and the Kingdome. And therefore advises him to assemble the Nobles and prudent men of the Land, and to consult with them (without whose ayde and counsell he could not governe his kingdome, or performe his enterprises) concerning what was amiss. And whereas, sayd he, certayne necre about you by their adulacion and soothing, falsly betray and deceiv you, we here denounce them excommunicate, and beseech you as your spirituall Father, that you hold them so. Besides, he urgashim, that whereas through the negligence of some Ministers of his, the City of Turkey was not gotten, the matter might be examined in Parliament, and inquiry made to whose hands, from the beginning of the War, the Woolls and manors are committed to be bestowed, &c by whose default the City of Turney was not subdued, but lost in such maner as it was, and that as an equall and wise Lord he woulde chastise such as were culpable, and not condeme or misdeeme his subjects without sufficiente triall, &c The letter bare date the 1. of Januari.

Then writes he also to Robert Bouler Chancellor of England shewing him what contribution the Clergy had yeelded to the K. by their free consents, & that none other were to bee exacted of them. Requiring him to doe no-

John Stratford
Archibishop of
Canterbury
his letters to
king Edward.

thing prejudiciale to the Law of Magna Charta; and that if any Writ, Commission, or Precept had gone ouer of the Chancery contrarie thereto, or the Priviledges and Liberties of the Church or Kingdome; he should within ten dayes after the receipt of these his Letters (as he said the Chancellour was bounde to doe) reprove and annull the same. This bare date the 28 of Januarij.

Another Letter he likewise sends to the King and his whole Councell, declaring that Wheras contrary to the priviledges and liberties of the Church and Kingdome contayned in Magna Charta, Iohn de Saint Paul, Michael de Watte, Robert Chickwill, Iohn Thorpe and Henry Stafford, were arrested, committed to prison, and there detained without being indited, or convicted of any treasonous crimes; and that whosoever were ayding or counsellling to this proceeding, had incurred the sentence of the Canon, which bee had caused to be published throughout his owne Dioces, and in all other of his suffragans. And therefore besought the King and his whole Councell, without delay to deliver the said Prisoners, otherwise (hee plainly writte) that according to his Pastoral charge, he must procede to the execution of the sentence. Concluding how notwithstanding it was not his intention to include the King, Queene, or their Children, so farre as they might by Law be excused.

To this purpose he likewise sends to the Bishop of London, and other his Suffragan Bishops, (whom after having complained of the great exactions and wrongs done to the Church by lay men) hee charged him not onely to denounce and publish in their Church, but hys upp in all eminent places the sentence of Excommunication, against all offenders in those Articles of Magna Charta which are at large added to his letter, to the end (as he said) that every man might know the danger, and none pretend to be ignorant thereof.

The King wakened with this clamour of the Archbishop, is faine to apologize for himselfe, by his letters written to the Bishop of London, wherein, after having declared how much he had ever honoured and trusted the Archbishop, he accuses him of manifest wrong, for that Relying upon his Councell, he was put at first upon this action against the Brewhi Kings, and by him assured he should not incur treasure and meane for the performance thereof; and that hee needed not to care but onely to provide men to execute the worke. And how notwithstanding, through the negligence or malice of the said Archbishop and his Officials, those provisions exacted him by his Subjects in Parliament, were in so slender proportion levied, and with such delays sent over, as hee was prest of necessity (to his great griefe and shame) to condiscend to the late truce, and through extreme wants (charged with mighty debts) forced to throw himselfe into the gulph of the purvures, in such sort, as having just cause, hee began to looke into the dealing of his Officers: some of whom, upon apparent notice of their ill administration of justice, their corruptions and oppression of his Subjects, hee removed from their places and some of inferior degree culpable of the same offence, hee committed to Prison, and there destroyed them, to the end hee might finde out by their examinations the truth of their proceedings, whereof none could so well informe him as the Archbishop, to whom of long time, he had committed the whole administration of the Kingdome. And therefore desirous to confer with him at London, he had of late sent an especial messenger, his trusty servant Nicolas de Cantelupe, that he should repair thither: which the Archbishop refused to doe, alledging how he stood in feare of some about the King, and therfore would not endanger himselfe, nor depart from his Church. Then the King sent Ralph Stafford, steward of his house, with safe conduct under his great Seale for the Archbishops: security. Notwithstanding he refuseth to come, returning wryd, he would have no conference with the King but in open Parliament: which at that time (said the King) was not for
espiall

Quatenus de
jure poterunt
excusari.

King Edward
accuses the
Archbishop of
false dealing.

especiall reasons convenient to be called. Then aggravated her the iniustifull contempt of the Archbishop and his hypocriticall dealing with him! allding that although by hereditary right, and the divine grace he was aduanted to that siblike office of regall power, he held it always to have beene a deceitful thing to abse the great peace thereof, and how he affected nothing more in this world, than to governe his subjects with mildenesse, clemency, and moderation of Justice, that he might with peace enjoy their love. And how notwithstanding the Archbishop had most injuriously by his Letters published in divers parts of the kyngdomme, still studi- dered the fauill service of his counsellors and Officers, in the extenuation of his equal justice, exclaiming how the people were opprest, the Clergy confounded, the Kingdome aggrieved with taxacions and all kind of exactions. Whiche the Kingdome was to no other end, but to a se fudition amongst his people, and to withdrawe their loue and obedience from him. Lastly, to give notice of the Archbishops corruption, he declares how hem selfe being under age, had through his counsell made somwhat prodigall donations, prohibited alienations, and excessive gifts: as therby his treasure was utterly exhausted, and his revenues diminished, and how the Arch- bishop corrupted with bribes, remitted without reasonable cause, great summes which were due unto him, applying to his proper use, or to persons ill deserving many compadities, and reverencies which shold have beene reserved for his ne- cessary provissons. And therfore concluded, unless hee desisted from this his rebellious obfiance, hee intended in due tyme to take more openly to proceede against him, injyning them to publish all and singular these his malitie, and to cause others to doe the like, for the manifesacion of his owne prouesse and Princely intention, in relievynge his owne and his Subjects wrongs. This Letter was sayd to have beene penned by Adam Bishop of Winchester, and bare date the 12. of February, Anno Reg. 15.

Thus the King and his officers, whose proceedings must not receive a check, are cleared, and the imputation rests upon the Archbishop, who is charged with great accounts, and piced by such as leht the King mony to render the same. But shortly after the King found much to doe in the Parliament held at London, being earnestly petitioned by the whole assembly of the three Estates, that the great Charter of Liberties, and the Charter of Forests might be duly observed, and that whosoever of the Kings Officers infringed the same, shold lose their place: that the high Officers of the Kingdome, shold as in formertimes, be elected by Parliament. The King stood stiffe upon his owne election and prerogative, but yet yeelded (in regard to have his present turne served, as himselfe after confessed) these Officers shold receive an oath in Parliament, to doe justice unto all men in their offices, and therupon a Statute was made and confirmed, with the Kings Seal; both for that, and many other grants of his to the Subjects, which notwithstanding were for the most part presently after revoked.

The truce agreed on before Turney for one yearre, was by the Commissioners of both Kings, and two Cardinals from the Pope, concluded at Arras, which yecched some cessation of Armes, but not of plotting more mischiche. Louis of Bavier (intituled Empetour) is wonne to the party of the French King, becomes his sworne confederate, and revokes the Vicarship of the Empire, formerly confirmed on the King of England, pretending the cause to be for concluding the late truce without him, as appeares by his Letters to King Edward, which are againe by him fully and discreetly answered.

But in stead of this remote and unconstant confederate, whose power lay without the limits of France) Fortune brought in another more neare, and of readier m^ries to offend, within the body of that Kingdome. The in- heritance

V. I. Stat. 15.
Edward 3.

The Articles
V. I. Appen.

The Emperor
revokes the
Vicariate, the
reason why.
Vid. Appen.

The Life and Reigne of Edward the third.

The contro-
verte for the
Duchy of
Brittaine.

Monfort doth
homage for
the Duchy of
Brittaine to
King Edward.

Monfort taken
prisoner.
His wife pro-
secutes her
husbands
quarrell.

Forces sent
over into
Brittaine.

The death of
Robert de
Artois.

heritance of the Dutchy of Brittaine is in controversie betweene Charles de Blois, Nephew to King Phillip, and John de Monfort, upon this title: Arthur Duke of Brittaine had by Beatrix his first wife, two sonnes, John and Guy, by Yoland Countesse of Monfort his second wife, John de Monfort. John the eldest sonne of Arthur having no issue, ordyned Jane his Neece, daughter to his brother Guy (who died before him) to succeede him in the Dutchy. This Jane, Charles de Blois marries on condition his issue by her should inherite the same, wherein after consummation of the Marriage he is invested, and had homage done unto him during the life of John their Uncle. But after his death, John de Monfort claymesthe Dutchy, comes to Paris to doe homage for the same to the French King. Charles de Blois in the right of his wife, opposes him, the controversie is referred to the Parliament. Sentence passes on the side of Charles. Monfort, enraged, repaires to the King of England, doth his homage unto him for the Dutchy, is received with great applause, and histole (howsoever held bad at home) is heere made to bee good. Returning backe into Brittaine both with comfort and meanes, after some encounters with his enemie, hee is taken and committed prisoner to the Louvre in Paris: His wife the Countesse of Monfort, sister to Lony's Earle of Flanders (a Lady who seemed to haue more of the man than her brother) prosecutes her husbands quarrell, puts on Armour, leades and encourages her people, surprises, and defends many strong peeces of Brittaine: but in the end, like to be overlaide by the power of Charles de Blois, shee craves ayde of the King of England, and hath it sent, under the conduct of the Lord Walter de Mandy, which relieved her for the present, but the future required more: whereof King Edward was not sparing, in regard of his owne designes, for aydes are seldome sent to forrainers but for the Sender's benefit. The Lady her selfe comes over into England to treat both for supplies and alliance, tending a match betweene her sonne and a daughter of King Edward. The Earles of Salisburie, Pembroke and Suffolke, the Lords Stafford, Spencer and Bourchier, with Robert de Artois Earle of Richmond, are sent with great forces backe with the Lady. Many were the encounters, surprises, and recoverings of Fortes betweene the English and the French; and in this action Robert de Artois received his last wound, at the siege of Vannes, but yet was brought to die in England, it being not in his Fate, that his Country (which by his meanes had suffered so much affliction) should have his bones, though it had his blood, which he lost with little honour, though with much valour, leaving behinde him but the fame of a RebELL, after he had served the English about six yeares.

King Edward shortly after these supplyes sent into Brittaine, goes him selfe in person with more, and lying before Vannes (lately recovered by the French) John Duke of Normandy eldest sonne to the French King, sent to ayde Charles de Blois, with an Army of forty thousand, came to give him bataille, and being upon the point of incunter, a mediation of truce is made by two Cardinals, sent from Pope Clement the sixt, and concluded for three yeares, upon many conditions, with a reference to the Pope, and the Court of Rome, to heare and examine the differences betwixt the two Kingdomes, but not to determine them without the consent of both Kings. This pause againe gives them more time to worke for greater wounds, and nothing is left unpractised that might advance the same. And though the people now seemed to put off their Armour, they left not off Armes, but had divers bickrings, both in Brittaine and Gascony, for which eyther side accused other.

The Life and Reigne of Edward the third.

King Edward returning, makes an expedition into Scotland against King David, whom he chased into the Islands: And here the Isle of Man is conquer'd by William Montacute Earle of Salisbury, whom King Edward caused to be stiled King thereof, and returning backe, soleinne Turnements are held at Dunstable, where he is attended with 230 Knights. For now all the pastime, and exercise in England were Iustes and Turnements held in Smithfield, Windsor, and other places. A society of Knights of the Round Table, in imitation of king Arthur, is designed, & a magnificent Chamber of 200. foot round, erected for the same at Windsor, and to this society many strangers of other countries are allured. The French King also practises the like martiall association in France.

And about this time began the order of the Garter, instituted at Windsor upon a soleinne feast there celebrated (which held for many dayes) and served that time as an Embleme of a tye and combinement in honour of such as were admitted thereunto, which was the end of the constitution thereof: Howsoever the Garter of the Countesse of Salisbury, taken up by the King in dancing with her, was sayd to have beeene the occasion. But it were some derogation to that noble institution, to impute the originall thereof to an act of Levity, seeing with what a grave and religious ceremony it is performed. Although wee see oftentimes, accidents of little consequence give beginnings to things of great estimation, which time makes venerable.

But besides these exercizes of Armes, this great and provident King, during this truce, takes especiall care for the government of the Kingdom, and reformation of the abusles thereof, which daily grow as diseases in full bodies, and must of necessity have sometimes their cure, otherwise there will be no health in a State. A Parliament is called at Westminister, wherein upon the grievous complaint exhibited by the Earles, Barons, Knights and Burgesses against the collation of Benefices on strangers, a letter was sent to Pope Clement the sixt, in humble manner beseeching him to consider how inconvenient, and derogatory it was to the state of the Kingdome of England, that such reservations, provisions, and collations of Benefices as had beeene formerly used, should in such sort bee continued. For that the Churches of England had in times past beeene endowed, by noble and worthy persons: to the end the people might bee instructed by such as were of their owne language: and how by the usurpation of some of his Predecessors, strangers, and sometimes enemies to the Realme, were preferred to many of them, whereby the mony and profits were transported, the Cures unfurnished, Almes and Hospitality unisit, the edifices ruinated, the charity and devotion of the people depinished, and many other grievous enormities, contrary to the will of the Founders, occisioned: which they could not suffer any longer, and therefore besought his Holiness wholly to revoke such reservations, provisions and collations, that meete, and native persons might exercise those cures, and without delay to signifie his intention therein, otherwise they meant to employ their diligence, that remedy and redresse might be had according to reason. The date of these Letters was in full Parliament at Westminister the 28. of May 1343. with which were likewise sent the Kings letters to the same effect by Sir John Shordich, a grave person and of great understanding in the Law, whose message made him so unwelcome to that Court, as he departed without leave, or answer, w^t though the Pope afterwards sent yet the king proceeded to the prohibition of all such provisions & collations within his Realme, on paine of imprisonment, or death to whom soever should in time to come present or admit any such person or persons, wh^t by the Pope were so preferred to the prejudice of the Kings prerogative. And to this effect

Reg. 17.
An. 1343
The institu-
tion of the Or-
der of the
Garter.

The Nobility
write to the
Pope concer-
ning his col-
lation of Be-
nefices in Eng-
land.

Sir John Shor-
dich sent with
these Letters.

The Life and Reigne of Edward the third.

The Archbl.
shop of Caes-
terbury recon-
ciled.

Prince Ed-
ward created
Prince of
Wales.

Reg. 18.
An. 1344
A Parliament,

General mu-
sters and ap-
pointing of
Armour.

were Writs directed to all Archbishops, Bishops, and others to whom it appertained, inhibiting them in no wise to attempt any thing prejudiciale to this ordinance.

Here is the Archbishop *Stratford* with much adoe upon his submission reconciled to the Kings favour. And much debating there is in this Parliament concerning Woolls and the assesement of certaine prices upon the same, more or leise, according to the severall parts of the Realme: and concerning customes to be imposed on them, as at three Markes and a halfe upon the transportation of every sacke; but it seemes nothing was done in this busynesse.

Prince *Edward* about the age of 13. is created Prince of *Wales*, and Commissioners are appointed to be sent to the Pope to treat of Peace betweene the two Kings, according to the Articles concluded in the truce, which were *John Bishop of Excester*, *Henry de Lancaster Earle of Derby*, *Hugh le Dispencer Lord of Glamorgan*, cosins to the King, *Ralph Lord Stafford*, with others.

The next yere after, another Parliament, or the same proroged, is held at *London*, wherein after much alteration, a tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laytie for one yere, and a certaine Coyne of gold called the *Floren* of base alloy, which had beeene for the Warres in *France*, is decryed, and Nobles of finer coyned, to the great liking of the Subjects. And for their better commodity the exchange of monyes at *London*, *Canterbury* and *Yorke* is ordained. Shortly after general Musters are takenthroughout the Kingdome, and Certificate made of all sufficient and able Bowmen, and of all other fit to beare Armes. Besides, a Commission is sent into every Countrey to inquire of mens abilities; and all of five pounds to ten of lay Fee, were appointed to finde an Archer on horse-backe; of 25. pounds, a Demilance, and so ratably above. The King himselfe goes in person to confirme and make the *Flemings* fast unto him: and at *Sluce*, *Iaques van Artevile* with other Commissioners from their chiefe Townes, repaire unto him, where a motion is made, that either *Louys* their Earle shold doe homage to the King of *England*, or else to be disinherited, and *Edward Prince of Wales* received for their Lord: for which King *Edward* promises to erect their Countrey to a Dukedom. *Artevile* was forward to entertaine this motion: but the rest of the Commissioners require leave to acquaint therewith the Townes that sent them, which though they were all desirous to have the Protection of the King of *England*, yet disliked the disinheriting of their naturall Lord. *Artevile* notwithstanding undertakes to induce them unto it, and returnes to *Gaunt*, garded with five hundred *Welsh*, which he desired to have, for that on *Gerrard Denys* Provoft of the Weavers opposed him, and foughht his destruction. The people whom he had so often led to mutiny against others, now upon his returne rose against himselfe, and a Cobler with an Axe stakke out his braines. And so King *Edward* lost his great Agent, which much displeased him, and disappointed his busynesse in those parts. Yet the Townes sent to excuse themselves of this accident, laying the fault on the turbulent *Gauntons*, and in all things vowed their fafull service unto him: only to the disinheriting of their Earle they could not consent. But they hoped to perswade him to become his homager, and to procure a match betweene the sonne of their Earle, and his daughter. And thus pacifying his present displeasure, the league is renewed betwixt them, and King *Edward* returnes to prosecute his other designes.

But now the Warres in *Guien* grew hot, the Earle of *Derby* Generall of the Army, assaults and takes in *Ville-Franche*, *Agenou*, *Angolesme*, *Rions*, *Saint Basile*,

The Life and Reigne of Edward the third.

Basile, with many other Cities and Castles. The French King sends his eldest sonne *John Duke of Normandie* to incouer him; who recovers the Cities of *Angolesme*, and *Ville-Franche*, and thus is the sword out before the Truce is expired, the breach whereof, the French King layes on the King of *England*, and he the same on him, for entertayning King *David*, and setting the Scots upon attempts of invasion of his Realme. So that it seemes both were prepared to breake, not able to hold their hands any longer from the fatall worke of destruction.

It was now the twentieth yere of this mighty and active Kings reigne, wherein he had prepared the greatest Fleet that ever yet crossed the Seas for *France*, and over he passes into *Normandy* in *July*, leaving for Wardens of *England* in his absence, the Lords *Percy* and *Nevile*, taking the young Prince with him about the age of fifteen years, to learne him the way of men, and what travell greatnesse was borne to indure, to attaine glory in this world. His Army consisted of foure thousand men at Armes, and ten thousand Archers, besides *Welsh* and *Irish*, which followed on foote; he had of Earles, *Hereford*, *Northampton*, *Arundell*, *Huntingdon*, *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, and *Oxford*: of Barons, *Mortimer*, (who was after Earle of *Marche*) *John*, *Louys*, and *Roger Beauchamp*, *Cobham*, *Lucy*, *Basset*, *Barkley*, and *Willoughbie*, with divers other both Knights and gallant Captaines. He had of late entertained *Geffrey de Harecourt*, who had beeene a minion to the French King, and became another *Robert de Artois*, upon some discontent, or doubt of some discoveries of favouring the English party in *Brittaine*, for which cause the French King had a little before executed *Oliver de Clisson*, *Bacon*, *Percy*, *Geffrey de Malestroit*, men of especiall marke, whom he had there employed. And now in steed of this *Harecourt* had wonne from King *Edward* the Lord *John de Beaumont*, who had long served him, was his wives Uncle, and acqainted with all his courses. Such is the trust of mercenaries, who sell their faith for better entertainement. Neither did this *Harecourt* long hold out, but changed colours, and made his peace with the French King his naturall Lord: but in the meantime did him and his Country much mischiefe. For upon King *Edwards* landing with his mighty Army, in the Isle of *Constantine* in *Normandy* by his conduction, hee made him one of his Marshals, and the Earle of *Warwicke* the other. The Earle of *Arundell* is appointed Constable. Hee divides his people into three battailes, one to march on his left hand, along the Sea coast, the other on the right, conducted by the two Marshals, and himselfe in the midst with his maine Army. The Earle of *Huntingdon* employed for Admirall of his Fleete, was to take all the Shippes hee found on the Sea coast. The three Armies by land lodged every night in one field. And first hee sackesthe City of *Caranton*, slew all he found armed or disarmed therein, burnes, razes, desolates the City, saying hee sacrificed those oblations to *Bacon*, *Percy*, and others (whose heads he found set upon the principall gate) unjustly massacred by *Phillip*. Thence he marches forward, and tooke Saint *Lo*, a rich towne of merchandise, and pillaged the same. Then after some bickring, became Master of *Caen*, and put all that Country into so great terror, as *Falaise*, *Lyseaux*, *Honfleur*, strong walled Townes, rendered themselves unto him. This don he spread his power in the Isle of *France*, to draw out *Phillip* to the combate, giving out that hee would wrastle with him in the eye of all *France*, on the great Theater before his capitall City of *Paris*.

Phillip this while held not his armes in his bosone, but had ramassid one of the fairest Armies, saith the French History, that ever was seene in *France*, composed

Reg. 20.
An. 1346
The King
goes with a
mighty Army
into Normandy.

John de Beau-
mont when
King *Edward*
had made him
Earle of Cam-
bridge, takes
the French
Kings part.

The manner
of King *Ed.*
proceeding
with his
Army.

The French K.
prepares to
oppose K. *Ed.*

King Ed. goes over the river of Sone, defeats the French.

The French K. resolves to encounter K. Edward.

His impatience and his hope.

The ordering of King Edwards Army.

composed of *French, Lorraines, Alcmaines, Genouys*, which hee led towards *Moulun*, where King Edward was layd to have made a stand and attended him; but upon report of his comming on, retires: it was supposed hee fled for feare, but the event shewed that the great God of Armies had destined his victory for another place. King *Phillip* followes and overtakes him at a Village called *Arenes*, a name remarcable (signifying the *Sand*) to shew on what unstable earth all the trust of humaine forces, and the desigues of the great are founded. This mighty Army of King *Phillip*, having the advantage to beat home where all was theirs, made him account the victory certaine. King *Edward* retires to gaine the River of *Sone* at *Blanquetaque*, but the passage wasto bee disputed by the sword. For *Phillip* had before sent thither *Gundemar de Fay*, with a thousand horse, and six thousand foote. King *Edward* notwithstanding resolves to passe or perish, and plunges formost into the River, crying out: *They who love me will follow me*. At which voyce all thrust in without dispute, striving who should bee foremost, and so presently the shoare gained by the *English*. *Gundemar* astonished with this unexpected, and bolde adventure, astonishes his people by his fearefull countenance. So that the *English* incourting the *French* all in disorder, fell upon them and put them to flight. But the retrite was neere to *Abbe-Ville* and *Saint Requier*. The losse was not so great as the shame, but served as a presage for a greater mischiefe to *France*. These disrouted men all affrighted flocke into *Abbe-Ville*. Where King *Phillip* enraged with this dishonour, resolves to revenge it, and presently to provoke King *Edward* to the combate. The advise of his Councell was otherwise; to suffer his troupes to repose some few dayes, and recover their spirits; and King *Edward* to coole, and spend his, in the meane while. But hardly had this King the patience to stay in *Abbe-Ville* one day, whiles the bridge to passe over his Army, was repayring. And with this precipitation and fury, into the field hee marches, elevated with an assured hope of a triumphant victory.

King *Edward* better tempered, manages his worke with admirable discretion and vigilancy, and had now incamped in a Village called *Cressy*, and there entrenched and fortified himselfe, not onely with the trees of the Forrest about it, but with deepe rampiers, and other defences besides: causing also a Parke to be paled under the wood side behinde his hoste, wherein were placed all the Carts and Carriages. His Army consisted of thirty thousand men, but in order and courage double the number. The vauntgard he gave to the Prince, and for guides the Earle of *Warwick*, *Godfray de Harcourt*, the Lords *Stafford*, *De la ware*, *Boncheir*, *Clifford*, *Cobham*, *Holland*, Sir *John Chandos*, Sir *Bartholomew Burwash*, Sir *Robert Neville* with eight hundred men at Armes, and two thousand Archers, besides a thousand other, most of them *Welch men*. The second battaile was committed to the Earles *Arundell*, and *Northampton*, the Lords *Rosse*, *Willoughby*, *Basset*, *Saint Albion*, *Multon*; and others, wherein were eight hundred men at Armes, and twelve hundred Archers. The third battaile the King led himselfe, haying seven hundred men at Armes, and two thousand Archers. These Battayles thus ordered, mounted on a white Hobby, he rode from ranke to ranke to view them, the one Marshall on his right hand, the other on his left, encouraging every man that day to have regard to his right and honour.

The French Kings Army was greater both in lustre and advantage, composed of above sixty thousand combatants well armed, whereof the chiefe were, *Charles Earle of Alanson* the kings brother, *John de Luxembourg* King of *Bohemia*, *Charles de Blys* the Kings Nephew, *Ralph Duke of Lorraine*, the Earle

Earle of Flanders, *Nevers*, *sancerre*, the *Dolphin de Viennois*: of Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen, about three thousand; and on the Eye of the battaile, *And Early of Savoy* arrived with a thousand men at Armes more, which made the French King swell with assurance of the maistrie, so that hee longed to be at the incouter. The Vauntgard he committs to his brother *Conte d' Alanson*, the Reere to the Earle of *Savoy*, the maine battaile he leads himselfe; his heate would scarce permit time for a little counsell what was fit to be done. The old King of *Bohemia* advised that the Army should first take some repast, and that the Infanterie consisting of *Genouese* (which were about fifteen thousand crosse-bowes, and sure men) should make the first front, and the Cavallarie to follow, which was agreed on. After their repast the Vauntgard set on, the *Conte d' Alanson*, contrary to this order, took it ill that the *Genouese* were in the first ranke, and in fury caused them to change place, which changed the Seat of the Armie, and wrought that discontent as it irritated them more against the leader than the enemy: besides there fell at the instant a piercing shower of raine, which dissolved their strings and made their Bowes unusefull, and at the breaking up of the shower, the Sunne shone full in the face of the French (dazzling their sight) and on the backs of the English, as if all made for them.

King *Edward* who had gotten to a wind-mill, beholding as from a Sentinel, with a settled spirit, the countenace of the enemy, and discovering both this accident, & the hurlement made by the change of place, slacks not to take advantage thereof, and instantly sendes to charge that part, without giving them time to reaccommodate themselves; insomuch as the discouraged *Genouese* recouyois, which the *Conte d' Alanson* perceiving, and comming on with the horse, in great rage cries out, *On, on, let us make way upon the bellies of these Genouese, who doe but hinder us*: and instantly prickes on with a full career through the midst of them, attended with the Earles of *Lorraine*, *Savoy*, and the *Dolphin de Viennois*, and never takes breath till hee came up to the English battaile, where the Prince was, which they found better settled: their horses flanked with troupes of Archers, whose strings having not felt the raine, rained such a shower of Steele upon them, as cooled their heate and all disordered them. The French King seeing his brother thus indangered, makes up to dislodge him, whereupon the fight grew hot and doubtfull, insomuch as the Commanders about the Prince, sends to King *Edward* to come up with his power to ayde them: the King demands the messenges, whether his sonne were slaine or hurt: the messenger answered no, but he was like to be over layd. Well then, sayd the King, returne, and tell them who sent you, *that so long as my sonne is alive, they send no more to me what ever happen, for I will that the honour of this day be his*. And so being left to try for themselves, they wrought it out with the sword, and recovered the advantage, by reason the French King (having his horse slaine under him, and in danger to be troden to death, had he not beene recovered by the Lord *John Beaumont*, his new Pensioner) was to the great discouragement of his people withdrawne out of the field. Whereof notice being once taken by the English, the day was sone after theirs, and the greatest victory they ever had yet against the French: and so bloody as there is not mention made of one prisoner taken in the battaile: for they being once put to rout, were all, whom the sword could overtake, slaughtered out right. Some few troupes that held together, saved themselves by returyng to places neere adjoyning. The French King himselfe with a small company got to *Bray* in the night, and in approaching the walles, the Guard, asked *Who goes there*, he answered, *The fortune of France*. His

The ordering of the French Kings Army at the battle of Cressy.

King Edward discovers the disorders of the French.

King Edward obtains the victory in this great battaile of Cressy.

The French King fies.

The number
of the slaine.

His voyce being knowne, the gates are opened, and in is he received with the teares and lameataions of his people, whom yet he seekes to comfort till he could. The number of the slaine on the place are certified to be 30 thousand. The chiefe men were *Charles d' Alanson, John Duke of Bourbon, Ralf Earle of Lorraine, Louys Earle of Flanders, Iaques Dauphin de Verrunois, Son to Imbert* (who after gave *Dauphine* to the Crowne of *France*) *the Barles of Sancerre, Harcourt* (brother to *Geoffry*) and many other Barles, Barons, and gentlemen to the number of 1500. This memorable victorie hapned upon the Saterday after *Bartholomew day*, being the 26. of *Augusty* 1346.

All the Markes of an intire overthrow rested with King Edward: the field of the Battaille, the bodies of the slaine, and their spoyles. The occasion of this great defeit (according to humaine conjecture) the French attribute to the choller, rashnesse and precipitation of their king and his brother, and suite; temerite and presumption have ever beene the ruine of great Actions, especially in warre.

King Edward managed this victory with as great moderation as he woulde it: and first, having imbraced his Sonne, commanding his valour shewed that day, he renders thankes to God after, as he had invoked his ayde before at the beginning of the Battaille, and carely in the morning, being Sunday, hee sent out 300 Lances, and 2000 Archers to discover what was become of the enemie, who found great Troupes of such as were comming from *Abbeville, Saint Requier, Roan, and Beauvoys*, (ignorant of what had hapned) led by the Archbishop of *Roan* and the Prior of *France*, whom they likewise de feited, and slew 7000. Our Writers report, that of Straglers which were fled from the Battaille, or comming on, (having lost their way by reason of a thicke mist which hapned that morning) were slaine many more than in the field the day before, which shewethus the wonderfull losse this afflicted Country susteined at one fatal blow.

But this was not all the victories that fell to King Edward that yeare, there was an other of more importance gotten in *England*, by the Queenie and his people at home against the King of *Scots*; who being set on by the French to divert the warre there, entered upon this Kingdome with 60. thousand men, as our Writers report, assuring himselfe of successe, in regard (as hee supposed) the maine strength thereof was now gone into *France*. But hee found the contrary: the Lords of the North, as *Gilbert de Humfrivile, Earle of Angos, Henry Percie, Ralph Nevile, William Dayncourt* with the Archbishop of *Yorke*, the Bishop of *Durham*, and others of the Clergie, gathered so great force, and so well ordered them by the animation of the Queone (who was there in person) as they utterly de feited this great Armie; tooke *David* their King prisoner, with the Earles of *Pise, Mentheth, Murry, Sutherland*, the Lord *Douglas*, the Archbishop of *Saint Andrewes* and others, and put to the sword 15. thousand *Scots*. This victory fell likewise upon a Saterday, and six weekes after that of *Cressy*. And as if all concurred to make this yeare triumphant: The aydes sent to the Countesse of *Monfort* in *Brittaine*, lead by *Thomas Dugworth*, overthrew and tooke prisoner, *Charles de Bloys*, pretender to that Dutchie, and with him *Monsieur la Val*, the Lords *Rochford, Beaumanoir, Loyacq*, with many other Barons, Knights and Esquires: therd were slaine in the encounter the Lord *De la Val* (father of him which was taken) *Vicont Rohan, Monsieur de Chasteau Brian, de Malestroit, do Quintin, de Direval*, great Lords, besides many other worthy men at Armes, Knights and Esquires, to the number of about 700. Thus all fell before the Sword of *England*.

King David
overthowne
and taken pri-
soner.

*Charles de
Bloys taken
prisoner.*

Now

Now King Edward, without meddling with the great Cities, *Amiens*, and *Abbeville*, which were both neere, marches on directly, and sets downe before *Calais*, a Towne of more importance for *England*, and the gate to all the rest; wherein *John de Kienne Marshall* of *France*, and the Lord *d' Andref* ghen, a great man in his time, comandred. All that Winter King Edward halving sheltered his people as in another Towne, furnished with all provisions, lay without any molestation of the French King, who this while was like wise besieged with the affliction of his owne Starre. Misfortune is ever held a great fault, bothe mighty men and meane, and opens the mouthes of those whose hearts are perverse. The people of *France* were in extreame povertie, yet notwithstanding the necessity of the Kings affayres, muste constraint fresh supplyes. The ill managing the publique exchequer, the falsehood of the Finaniers, the decyng of Moneyes, the diminishing of trafficks, augmentation of impostaes, Subsidies, Gabels, &c. were the causes of this publike murmur, and put the people in despaire, seeing no end of the troubles where in their King was dayly more and more engaged. And now was no way to helpe him, but by an assembly of the States. Wherein the Finaniers, Receivers and managers of monies are called to render an account, and the treasure committed to the disposing of the Clechy, and the Nobles, to take away suspition in the people of ill dealing. Four Bishops, two Abbots, and four Knights are chosen for that busynesse. *Pierre des Essars*, Treasurer of *France*, is committed to prison, condemned in a great fine to the King. Other Officers and accountants remorte at once, what they were long in gathering; the Banquiere, Lombards, & other usurers, are put to the proce for their unlawfull extactions: the Intrests are proved to exceed the Principall, which is confiscate to the King, and the Intrests given to the Dibrors, Grophes, wherewith indigent Kings in expensye times use to serve their turnes, and please their oppressed people. Which I have the rather noted, though it lyceth with our our circle, to shew that other Kings likewise layd hand upon what they could fasten, as well as ours, have done, and made benefite of mens offences; onely this of the Vsurer is new to us, but yet like to that practised heretofore upon the Jewes, and might serue a gurne with as much content to the people, and as faire a shew of a just correction as theirs did: the nature of the Extortors being alike.

Ayded with this meanes, and the ready service of his Nobles and ablest Subjects, the French King, in the Spring, hath an Army in the field, approaches *Calais*, but findes no way open to come to relieve it. The King of *England* was both Master of the Haven, and possesse all other wayes whatsoeuer were passable, and had the Flemings his friends, who with a huge Army had besieged *Ayre*, and did much mischiese on the confines of *France*. To oppose them, is *John Duke of Normandy*, the Prince sent for out of *Guien*, who being no sooner removed from thence, but *Henry of Lancaster*, Earle of *Derby*, became master of the field, having an Army consisting of twelve hundred men at armes, two thousand Archers, and three thousand other foote, *Englissh and Gasconnes*) takes in most of the Townes of *Zaintonge*, and *Poitou*, in the end besieged and sacked *Poictiers*, and so returns to *Bordeaux* with more pillage than his people could well bear. Thus, the French suffer every where. The King, not being able to approach to grapple with the King of *England*, sends to sollicite him to appoint some place of battaille, and hee would incounter him. King Edward returnes answer; If hee would make his owne way to come thither unto him, there he should finde him: for, from thence he would not part, having therelayne so long to his great labour and charge, and being

King Edward
besiegeth
Calais.

The State of
France.

being now soncerte the point of gaining the place. The two Cardinals sent from the Pope, labour to mediate a peace; and Commissioners on eyther side thereto create: but nothing could bee effecte. So that the French King was forced to breake up his Armie and rette to Paris, leaving Calais; and the defendantes unbelieve, to the mercy of the Besieger, which when they understood, they sent to desire Parle, had it granted, and therein received this final sentence: that sixt of the chiche Burgeses should bee sent to the King bare-headed, bare-footed, in their shirts, with halters about their neckes, the keyes of the Towne and Castle in their hands, and submit themselves to the Kings will: for the residue he was content to take to mercy. This sentence intimated to the miserable townsmen, they all infamable manner looking each on other, who should be chosen for this sacrafice, one amongst the rest stands up, and boldly spake to this effect. *Fellow Citizens, for mine owne part I have so often exposed my life, in this long siege for my Country (and have beeene every day so do) am now most willinge to sacrifice the same for my last obligacion thereunto, and will cheefly carry my head to the victory of the King of England, nor desiring to shrowd the perdition of my miserable Country. Which free and resolute speech so wrought with this amazed people, as now they strive who should be one of the sixt, and dyed. Let us god, let us go unto death, it is the last day we ought to render to our busynesse.* Six are presently chosen, and sent according to the sentence, presenting themselves on their knees to the King, and beseeching him to shew mercy unto them. The King commandes them stantly to be carried to their execution, and would not (although great supplication was made for them by his Councell) be diverted; in regard as he layd of his oath: till the Queene, great with Childe, fell on her knees before him, and with teares obtained their pardon, and had them given unto her, which done she caused them to be clothed, gave them thei dinner, and her hobbles a man, appeling them to be safelie conveyed out of the Army, and set at liberty. An Act worthy of so great a Queene, and the greater by this her dede of mercie! The King though in this he were sterke; yet was he more sparing of blood than his Grand-father Edward the first, and had more of compassion, as shewed an Act in this siege. When Victuals within the Towne beganne to fayle, and all unusefull persons, as old men, women, and children put out of the gates, he forced them not backe againe which bee might have done; the sooner to consume their store, but suffered them to passe through his Army, gave them to eate, and two pence a peecce to every one.

The Queene obtaines pardon for the Burgeses of Calais.

King Edwards Clemency.

The conquest of the Towne of Calais.

King Edward returns into England.

King Edward refuseth the Election of king of the Romans.

But before that yeare ended, this great jollity here in England turned to the saddest mourning that could bee possible. The invisible Sword of Heaven maketh such a payage upon mankind, as had not beeene knowne before. A contagious Pestilence ariseth in the East and South parts of the World, that dipreadeth it selfe over all Christendome. And in England they write that it took away more than the halfe of men! As if the Divine providence seeing them thus violently bent to destroy and massacre one another, would lessen their numbers for their fields, and take to it selfe the vengeance of Blood shed in this terrible manner. Church yards could not heere suffice to bury the dead, new grounds are purchased for that purpose. It is noted there dyed in London, betweene the first of January and the first of July 1374. persons. Other Cities and Townes suffered the like, according to their portions. All which calamitie notwithstanding, could not deterre those egar Princes from prosecuting their quarrell, nor yet so infurnish their fields, but that they found still fresh hands for blood-syd; as shewed their many con-acts shortly after. But yet it gaveth some paue, till the fervour of the contumion asswaged, which was also attended with a misfable famine, murraine of Cattle, and sterility of the earth, caused through the indisposition of the Heavens, and wants of culture.

The first Action after this was the Kings going over to Calais, upon an intimation of a practise to surprise the Towne, contrived by the French, which was thus. *Monsieur de Charmy, Gouvernor of Saint Omers, had dealt with Amerigo de Perula, whom King Edward had left Capteine of the Castle of Calais, offering him 20 thousand Crownes to be recevied into the Castle.* Amerigo accepts the offer, and appoints a night for the busynesse. In which night (by advertisement from Amerigo) King Edward arrives with 300 men at Amiens, and 600 Archers. Monsieur Charmy sets out likewise the same night from Saint Omers with his Forces, and sent 100 armed men before with the Crownes to Amerigo, and to possesse the Castle. The men are let in at a Postern Gate, the Crownes received and themselves layd in hold. Wheridone the Gates of the Towne are opened and out marches the King before day to encounter Monsieur de Charmy, comming on with his Forces, who perceiving himselfe betrayed, put his people to the best defensē hee could, & the King of England to a hard bickring; who for that hee would not be knowne there in person, put himselfe and the Prince, under the coulour of the Lord Walter Matty, and was twice beaten downe on his knees, by Mongeur de Riboumont, a hardy knight (with whosse hee fought hand to hand) and yet recovered, and in the end tooke Riboumont Prisoner. Charmy was likewise taken, and all his Forces defeated. King Edward the night after (which was the first of the new yeare) feasted with the Prisoners, and gave Riboumont in honout of his valour (wherin hee honoured his owne) a rich Chaplet of Pearles, whitch himselfe wore on his head (for a New-years-gift) forgave him his ransome, and set him at liberty. The rest pay dearely for what they got not, and were well warred how to Traffike in that kinde. Yet the Englishi not long after in the like practise had better success, and got the Castle of Guisnes (a peice of great importance neere Calais) for a summe of money given to one Beauconroy a Frenchman. Of which Castle, when the French King demanded restitution, in regard of the Truce: King Edward returns answer: That for thines bought and sold betweene their people, therein was no exception, and so held it.

Shortly after, the French King not borne to live to see any better Fortune, dyes,

The first great Pestilence.

Anno Reg. 23

King Edward goes over to Calais. The French circumvented in their practise.

The Life and Reigne of Edward the third.

1305.

Anno

Reg. 24

The French
Kingdyes.King Edward
in action at
Sea against
the Spaniards.Alterations of
monies.

A Parliament.

Anno

Reg. 27

The Staple
established in
England.

Halsigiam.

dyes, leaving that distressed Kingdome to his sonne John; who found faire wyrse. For these forenamed wounds, were but as scratches to that State, compared with those horrible maimes it indured in his, & after in the Reigne of Charles 6, and 7, till the sword of England was turned home upon it selfe, to let out the blood of revenge with as Tragical mischiefs, in the successors of these actors, who now thus wrought others ruines abroad.

King Edward, the next yeare after, is againe in person with a Fleete on the Sea, to incouer certaine Spanish Shippes, passing from Flanders loaden with Cloath and other commodities, whom, after a great fight, and much blood shed on eyther side, he tooke with all their substance; For that the Spanish shippes the yeare before, entered the River Garonne, and tooke away certayne English shippes, loaden with Wines, and slew all the English. His forces in Guyen were not idle this while, but many conflicts passed betweene the French and them: notwithstanding the Truce which was renewed. The Wars in Brittaine likewise continue, and are horly maintained betwene the two Ladies, the widdow of Monsart, and the wife of Charles de Blois (whose husband remaynes prisoner in England) eager defenders of eythers pretended right.

Divers overtures of peace had beeene made by Legates, sent from the Pope, and Commissioners often met, to the great expence of both Kings, but nothing could be concluded (the winter and the lyster seldome agreeing upon conditions in regard the one will have more than the other is willing to yeld unto) and so temporary Truces (which were but slenderly observed) are onely taken to wipne time. These actions not onely consumed our men, but the treasure of the Kingdome. The War, though invadive, could not maintaine it selfe. The monies here are altered, and abated in weight, and yet made to passe according to the former value. Before this time there were none other peeces but Nobles and halfe Nobles, with the small peeces of silver called sterlings; but now groates of fourre pence, & halfe groates of two pence, equiyalent to the sterleng mony, are coyned, which inhabsed the prices of things, that rise or fall according to the plenty or scarcity of Coyne. Which made seruants and labourers to rayle their wages accordingly. Whereupon a Statute was made in the Parliament, now held at Westminster, to reduce the same to the accustomed rate which was given before the late Mortality. This caused much murmurung amongst them, imputing the cause thereof, to William Edington Bishop of Winchester, the Kings Treasurer, whom they held to be the author of the abatement of the Coyne.

The King conceyving displeasure against the Flemings, for being disappointed of the Match betwene a Daughter of his, and their young Earle Louis (who was escaped into France, and bestowed on a daughter of the Duke of Brabant) with drawes the Mart or Staple of Woolls from their Townes, greatly enriched thereby, and caused the same to be kept at Westminster, Chichester, Canterbury, Lincolne, Warwicke, Yorke, Newcastl, Excester, Carmenden, Bristol, and Hull. Holding it fitter to advance his owne townes than strangers, by the commodities of the Kingdome. And here are provident Ordinances enacted, for the governing and ordering this Staple.

An Act is also made in this Parliament, that all Weares, Mills, and other stoppages of Rivers, hindering the passages of Boates, Lighters, and other Vessels, should bee removed. An A^ct most commodious to the Kingdome, but it tooke little effect, saith my Author, by reason of bribing and corrupting Lords and great men, who regarded more their owne, than

The Life and Reigne of Edward the third.

than the publike benefite: A mischiefe fatall to all good Ordinances; and yet it is an honour to that time, that so behooyefull an act was ordained. For, this easie convaying and passing of Commodities from that place to place, to impart the same more generally, would (no doubt) be an infinite benefit to this State: And seeing God hath made us Rivers proper for the same, it is our negligence, or sloth if wee marre them, or make them not usefull in that kind, as other nations doe with farre lesser streames.

There is mentioned also of an Act to be made, at the instance of the Londoners, that no common Whore should weare any hood; except rayed, or striped with divers colours, or Furres, but garments reversed, the wrong side outward: wherein they did well to set a deformed marke upon foulenesse, to make it appeare the more odious.

After this Parliament, Henry Earle of Derby, is created Duke of Lancaster, and Ralph Lord Stafford, Earle of Stafford; and here Charles de Blois, a long prisoner in England, agreed for his Ransome, which was 40. thousand Floyrs, and was permitted to returne into Brittaine to provide the same. Great meete on both sides, to treat and conclude a Peace. The chiefe Article in deliberation, was; That the King of England shold enjoy all the Lands of his Datchy of Aquitaine, without holding the same by resorte or homage of the Creweyne of France: and in consideration thereof, shold resigne all his Clame and title to that Kingdome. And this was in a maner then fully agreed on, yet in the end broken off by the French (A bedding, they could not alienate anything from the body of that Crowne) to their farther confuson and mischiefe, having beeene better to have spared a formall Ceremony appertaining to a part, than to haue had the whole so miserablenent and torn in pieces as it was. And yet in the end they were faine to make their agreement upon the same very Article, at the Treaty of Brittanie.

But now the Commissioners returning without effecting any thing, the King of England grew so displeased, as he would not hearkento any further prorogation of Truce, though it were most instantly urg'd by two Cardinals, sent from Avignion by Pope Clement the 6ⁱ (who being a Frenchman borne, laboured much for the peace of his Country), and preparation is made for fresh warres. The Prince of Wales now growne a man, is appointed by Parliament to go into Gascoigne with 1000. men at Armes, 2000. archers, and a great number of Welshmen, and in June following, sets foorth with 300. Sayles, attended with the Earles of Warwicke, Suffolke, Salisburie, and Oxford, the Lord Chandos, the Lord James Audley, Sir Robert Knolles, Sir Frayne de Hull, with many others.

About Michelmas following, the K. himselfe passes byre to Calais with another Army, taking with him two of his sons, Lionel of Antwarpe, now Earle of Ulster, (by the right of his wife, Elizabeth, daughter & heire to William Brugh) And John of Gaunt, Earle of Richmont. There met him at Calais, of Mercenaries out of Germany, Flanders, and Brabant, a 1000. men at Armes. So that his Army consisted of three thousand men of Armes, and two thousand Archers on horse-backe, besides Archers on foote. The City of London sent 300. men at Armes, & 500. Archers all in one Livery, at their owne charge. But all this great power effected nothing at that time, the French King would not be drawn to any incouer: both in regard of the potency of his enemy, and some turbulencies happening amongst his owne people, but hee so dist furnishes the Country (whore the English were to passe) of all provysons to sustaine

stop.

The Earle of Derby created Duke of Lancaster.

Treaty of Peace.

Anno
Reg. 27King Edward
passes with an
Army into
France.Returnes
without doing
any thing.

The Life and Reigne of Edward the third.

sustaine them, as the King of England was forced to returne.

The distempertures of France that this time diseased it, grew from the violent humors of Charles King of Navarre, who had married Jane the French Kings daughter, a Prince of a stirring spirit, subtil, haughty, and presuming upon his great Estate, and high blood, being the soane of Louys Conte d'Eureux and Jane daughter to King Louys Huttin, which Jane was put by the inheritance of the Crowne of France by Phillip de Long her Uncle, in regard of the Salicque Law: and by him preferred to bee Queen of Navarre, in whose right this Charles her sonne, bare both the title and state of that kingdome, with many other great inheritances: all which could not yet content him, but holding himselfe wronged that he had not also the Counties of Champagne and Bry, which appertained to his mother by the same right as did the Kingdome of Navarre, enters into violent courses. And (daring not to complaine directly of the King) he falls upon the Constable of France, as chiefe of his Councell, & one of whom he was jealous, in regard of the Kings particular favour unto him, and in the end caused him to be murdered in his bed at L'Aigle in Normandy, pushing himselfe up into his Chamber, accompanied with his brother Phillip of Navarre, two of the Harecourts, and divers other of his owne retinue. After the deede done, he retyres to his owne City of Eurenx, and justifies the act to be lawfull.

The French King, though extremely stung herewith, yet was faine to temporise, and promises the King of Navarre, if hee would come and crave pardon, hee should have it. Whereupon hee appears at Paris before the Councell, to render reason for his act, is condemned, as guilty of treason notwithstanding the Kings promise, and committed prisoner. Three Queens are earnest suitors for him, his mother (the old Queen of Navarre) his sister (the widdow of the late King Phillip de Valois) and his owne wife daughter to the French King. His release is obtained, and away hee goes with the rancour of this wound (which had beene better not given, unlesse it had bin home) offers his service to the King of England (who knew well how to make use of such a powerfull member) & withall surprises certen peeces in Normandy, practising all he could to withdraw the peoples affections, and aydes from their King, when hee had most neede of them. These insolencies, notwithstanding the French King is faine to endure and dissemble, until hee might againe take him upon some advantage: to use force, hee saw was dangerous, both in regard of his party, and the time. An occasion at length fell out, whereon he deares. Charles his eldest sonne being lately invested in the Dutchy of Normandy, is visited by all the great men in the Country, amongst whom as chiefe comes the King of Navarre, and is royally feasted at Roan. Whereof the French King having notice, sets out of Paris suddenly, takes him at dinner with his soane, and without farther procelle causes four of the principall whiche massacred the Constable, to bee presently executed: of which, two were the Harecourts brethren: and withall sends away Navarro under sure guard to Arros, and his chiefeest servants to divers prisons.

The French
King commits
the King of
Navarre pri-
soner.

The Duke of
Lancaster sent
into Normandy
to ayde the
King of Na-
varre's bro-
ther and
others.

This sudden execution, though it gave a present amazement, yet it wakened the partizans of Navarre, and especially Phillip his brother, who with Geoffrey Harecourt (Uncle to the two brethren) past over into England, exlayning against this violent murthier, invoking King Edward, in a case of so notorious Injustice, to ayde them; offering their hearts, their goods, their townes and hayens, to let hit into Normandy. The occasion is entertained, the Duke of Lancaster is sent over with four thousand men

The Life and Reigne of Edward the third.

men at Armes, and by the assistance of this great party, winnes many strong Townes.

King Edward to be furnished for so great actions, hath by Parliament granted unto him fifty shillings upon every sacke of wooll, for six yeates next ensuing: by which imposition it was thought, (say our histories) the King might dispense a thousand markes sterlind a day. Such vent of woolles were in that time. And presently after the Parliament, in winter, to shew that he was for all weathers, he goes with an Army to recover Burwicke, which had beeene surprised by the Scots, whilst he was last at Calais; and here hath he not only his Towne, but the whole Kingdome of Scotland resigned unto him, by Edward Balliol, who held himselfe King therof by the best title, but not best regarded: for King Alexander (though now prisoner in England) had the most powerfull party there: and so both were Kings to their severall sides that held them so: a miserable distraction to that poore Kingdome. And every where dwelt affliction but in England, and here was nothing but Triumphs, Vanquishings, and Recoverings in all parts.

The Prince enters Guien, passes over Languedoc to Tholouse, Narbonne, Burges, without any encounter in the field; sackes, spoyle, destroyes where hee goes, and loaden with booty returnes to Burdeaux.

The French King thus assaulted on all sides, gathers what power he possibly could, and first makes against his enemies in Normandy, recovers many of his lost Townes; and was likely to have there prevailed, but that he was drawne of force to oppose this fresh Invader, the Prince of Wales, who was againe abroad, and come up into Toureyne; against whom hee brings his whole Armie, causing all the Townes and passages upon the River Loyr to be strongly guarded: Whereupon the Prince, whose forces were not to en- and Poytou, towards Burdeaux. The French King to prevent his course, fol- lowes, and within two Leagues of Poytiers hath him at a great advantage. Two Cardinals at that instant came from the Pope to mediate a peace. The French King supposing he had his Enemy now in his mercy, would accept of none other conditions, but that the Prince should deliver him foure Ho- stages, and as vanquished, render himselfe and his Army to his dis- crection.

The Prince was content to restore unto him what he had gained upon him, but without prejudice of his honour, wherein he sayd: *He stood accompta- ble to his Father, and to his Country.* So the Legates perswasions (though earnestly urged) could prevaile nothing upon the French Kings obstinacy: who presuming of victory (in regard his Army was six to one) would instantly (as loath to lose time to lose himselfe) set upon the Prince: who reduced to this streight, takes what advantage he could of the ground, & providently got the benefit of Vines, Shrubs and Bushes, on that part he was like to be assailed, to impestre and intangle the French horse, which hee saw were to come furiously upon him. The successe answered his expectation, for behold the Cavallarie of his enemies upon their first assault, wrapt and incumbred amongst the Vines, so that his Archers without danger, gall and annoy them at their pleasure.

For the French King to give the honour of the day to his Cavallarie (whereof hee had caused a choice to bee elected out of every company, to the discontent of the rest) employed them onely without his Infantry: So that they being disordered, and putt to rout, his whole Army came to be utterly defeated.

1335.

Anno

Reg. 29

Fifty shillings
granted by
Parliament of
every sacke of
wooll, for six
yeares.

Edward Balliol
refuses the
kingdome to
King Edward,
refusing to
himselfe a
penson.

1336

Anno

Reg. 30

The French
king hath the
Prince of
Wales at an
advantage.

The battaille
of Poitiers,
fought the 19.
of September.
1336.

The French
King taken
prisoner.

The number
of prisoners
taken.

The slaine in
the battaile.

A memorable
act of James
Lord Audley.

The errors committed, in the battaile of Crasie, could not waine the King to avoyde the like. For had he had the patience to have tymed it out a while, then Prince could not have possibly subsisted, being thus invyncted, and shut up from all succours as he was: and now thus furiously assaulted, and having no safety but what was to bee wrought by the Sword (which desperation ever makes the sharper,) Hie, and his shewed that admirable courage that day, as purchased them the most memorabile glory that ever any Matriall action did; that was achieved by the English with so few hands.

Here was now the Head of that great Kingdome claymed, taken Prisoner, with his youngest sonne Phillip (who valiantly defending his father, when his other brothers forspoke him, had afterward the Title of Hardy, and became Duke of Burgonne) Jaques de Bourbon, Conte de Ponthieu, the Archbishop of Sens, John d'Artois, Conte d'Eure, Charles d'Artois, his brother Conte de Longueville, Charles Conte de Tancarville, the Comte of Vendosme, Sabourg, Dampmartin, and La Roche, with many other Lords of marke, besides 2000. Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen; in so much as the Conquerours, holding it not safe to retaine so many, let many of them goe. The French, who can give best account of their owne losses, report there dyed in the battaile a thousand seaven hundred Gentlemen, amongst which were fifty two Bannereff: the most eminent, Peter de Bourbon, the Duke d' Athens Constable of France, Jan de Clermont Marshall, Geffrey de Oberry, High Chamberlaine. There escaped from this battaile three of the French Kings sonnes (for hee brought them all thither) Charles Prince Dauphin (and the first so intitled) Louys after Duke of Anjou, John Duke of Berry, all great actours in the time following.

This blow might seeme to have bin enoughe to have utterly overthrowne that Kingdome, and absolutely subdued it to the Crowne of England, but that it was a body which consisted of so many strong limbs, had such store of spirits dispersed in severall parts, and contained so wide an extent of state, as all this blood letting could not dissolve it, or make it faint to give over. And sure these powerfull Kingdomes, howsoever they may be diseased, and suffer, eyther through the distemperature of their heads, or distractions of their other parts, can never (unlesse by a generall dissolution) be so lowe brought, but they will recover againe in the end: their frame holds by many nayles, which never fayle all together.

The Prince of Wales in this battaile, hath a double victory, the one by the sword, the other by his Curtesie: first he visits the captive King, with all reverence and regard of Majestie, comforts him by examples of war, and assures him of all faire entertainment according to his dignite. The especiall great men who were actours in this worke must not passe unremembred, the Earles, Warwicke, Suffolke, Salisburie, Oxford, Stafford: the Lords, Cobham, Spencer, Berkeley, Basset: Of Gascoignes, Le Capital de Beuf, the Lords Pumier, Chaumont, and others. And here the Lord James Audley is renowned both for his valour and bountie, who having vowed to bee formost in this fight, performed his word, and sealed it with many wounds: for which the Prince having rewarded him with the gift of five hundred markes, Fee-simple in England, hee presently gave it to foure of his Esquires, who had with him endured the brunt of the day. Whereupon the Prince demanding, whether he accepted not his gift, hee answered how these men had deserved the same, as well as himselfe, and had more neede thereof. The Prince pleased with this reply, gave him five hundred markes more in the same kind. An example of the worthinesse of the time, wherein good deservings went not unrewarded.

All

All things prouidently accommodated afte the battaile, the Prince with his prisoners first retyres to Burdey, and thencefurther with great glory into England, now the Theatre of triumph. The French Kings, lodged at the Savoy, then a goodly pallace of Henry Duke of Almaine. Many prisoners upon reasonable ransomes, and many upon the French Kings word (undertaking for them) are delivered and sent home honorably. David King of Scots, who had remained prisoner eleven yeares in England, is shortly after by the earnest solicitation of Louys his wife, sister to King Edward, set likewise at liberty for the ransom of a hundred thousand markes, shewing to be payd in tenne yeares. The security now had of France, gave way to this Princes liberty.

Above fourre yeares the French King remained prisoner in England, in which time were many overtures, and great offers made for his delivery, but nothing effected. Charles the Dauphin, who managed that Kingdome (during the captiuitie of his father) a Prince of grete discretion, wrought all meanes possible to bring that factious people to yeeld their contribution, for ransoming their King, but little prevayled. The Parlement there called to consult therof, rather augments the misery of the States, than provides remedie. Wherin after the Dauphin had gravely delivered the desolation and danger they were in, being thus depryved of their Heads, and the necessity of recovering and relievynge the same, by their utmost meanes. There was a choyce required of fifty (to avoyd confusion) to be made out of all the Provinces, to consult of what was propounded, according to the instructions they should receive. These fifty, after many meetings, sends for the Dauphin to heare their resolution, which was much otherwise than hee expected. For first, the Bishop of Lagn, chosen their speaker, besought him to keepe secret what should be uttered unto him by the states. The young Prince answers: That it were much prejudiciale to the decree he held in the Kingdome, to take Law of his Fathers Subjects: and therefore commauded them (by their Alle- upon) declares the evill managing of the Publike revenues, demands redresse, and Commissioners appointed to call such as were answerable, to yeeld their Accounts. That all who had managed the Treasury, shold be dispossed from their Offices. That both the monyes, and all the affaires of the State, shold from thenceforth be directed by foure Bishops, and twelve Burgeses, whereof the City of Paris shold be chiese: and that without this Councell the Dauphin shold doe nothing: And in conclusion, they instantly require; That the King of Navarre might be set at liberty. On which conditions they would yeeld any reasonable subvention for redeeming their King.

To these harsh Demands, the Dauphin requires time to answer, which he so put off from day to day, (in hope thereby to separate and dis-unite their Councils) as the Deputies, at length, tyred with delay grew cold, and the Assembly brake up without doing anything.

But this left such a poysen as infected the people, and specially those of Paris, who shortly after presumptuously demand to have the King of Navarre delivered, according to the decree of the Deputies; and without delay they so wrought with Pinquiguy, the Governour of Artois (who had the keeping of this Fire-brand) as hee was delivered after 19 moneths imprisonment, and comes to Paris so accompanied, as slaued both of what spirit and state he was, and that he meant to take his tyme of revenge. Heere is he welcom'd with the applause of the whole City, to whom in publike manner

1337.
Anno
Reg. 31

The state of
France during
their Kings
captivity.

The King of
Navarre set
at liberty.

manner with great eloquence, he declares the wrongs he had received; and besides intimates, what right he had to the Crowne of *prance*, thereby to imbroyle the affaires of that State, which were already too much in combustion. This put the busynesse of fedeeming the captive King quite out of their mindes for that time; and the *Dauphin* is constrained (by an act of Abolition) to acquit the King of *Navarre* and his Complices, of all former offences. And seeing the perverseness of the *Parisians*, goes to sollicite other Cities, and Provinces: travailing from place to place for ayde and succour, leaving his brother *Philip*, Duke of *Orleance*, at *Paris*, to keepe them in (the best he could) during his absence.

The Province of *Languedoc*, is renowned in their Histories, for being the first that made the largest offer of ayde towards the redemption of their King, in the Assembly of the three States at *Tholouse*, wherein they promised to their Governor, the *Conte d' Artois*, not onely to employ their Revenue, but their mooveables, and even to sell their wives Jewels to raise the same. Besides, to witnesse their publike sorrow, they ordaine, that no costly Apparell, Feasting, Playes, or other jollities should be used within their Province, during the time of their Kings captivity. *Champagne* by their example doth the like. But nothing could move the *Parisians* to yeede any thing. The King of *Navarre* had wonne them, both from their obedience, and all humanity, and put them into such flames of rebellion, as when the *Dauphin* came backe to the City, the Provost of Merchants assaulted his house with three thousand Artificers in Armes, and rushed himselfe up into his Chamber with certaine of his traine: wherewith the *Dauphin*, being amazed, the Provost bids him bee content, it was resolved it must be so. And presently upon Signall given, *Ian de Coustans*, and *Robert de Clermont*, Marshall of *France*, and his chiefe Counsellors, are slaine in his presence. The *Dauphin* cries out; What meane you? Will you set upon the Blood of *France*? Sir (sayd the Provost) Feare you not, It is not you wee seeke, it is your disloyall servants, who have evill counsaile you. And heere withall hee takes (and puts on) the *Dauphin's* hat, edged with gold, and sets his owne, which was party coloured, Red and Peach-colour (as the Livery of the City) upon the *Dauphin's* head, and out he goes adorned with the Hat of a Prince, as a signe of Dictatorship, causing the bodyes of these two noble men to be trayled along the streets to the Court of the Pallace, for all the furious multitude which ran to applaude the murther, to gase on.

This done, the Provost writes in the name of the whole City, to all the great Townes, soliciting them to joyne with theirs (the principall of the Kingdome) and take their Livery, as the *Dauphin* had done, for the reformation of the State. Besides, they compose a Councell of themselves, whereof the Bishop of *Laon*, the Primier President, the Provost, with some of the University, were chiefe, assuming a Soveraigne power to order all affaires of the State, as a Common-wealthe. So that we see in what a miserable confusione that Kingdome stood, being without a head, and how apt it was then to shake off all authority, and dissolve the government into parts: shewing us that it was no new project amongst them to Cantonize, as the great Townes and the Princes of late practised to doe, in their leagues, during their civill combustions.

The *Dauphin* thus disgraced, with much adoe, gets out of this tumultuous City, and retires into *Champagne*, and at *Vertus* assemblies the States of the Country, whom he found loyall, and ready to yeede him all succour. The rest of the great Townes refusing (with much disdain) to joyne with the

City

City of Paris, offer him likewise their ayde: So that hee was put into some heart, and likely to effect his desires in short time, had not the King of *Na- varre*, who sought his destruction, still raysed new broyles in the State, and taken Armes against him.

Now besides these confusions, greater mischieves arose in that miserable Kingdome: the poore Paynts that had beeene eaten out by the souldiours, and troden under foote by their Lords, colleague and arme themselves in the Country of *Beauvoisis*, and turne head upon the Gentry, and such as had done them wrong, spoylling, sacking, burning their houses, killing their wives and children in most outragious manner. This was not all, troupes of Souldiers which had no worke or meanes to live, joyne together in mighty Companies, over-runne and ravage other parts of the Kingdome. The forces in *Brittaine* under the conduct of Sir *Robert Knolles*, breake out upon the confining Countries, and returne laden with inestimable booties of wealth. All which miserable calamities (enough to have utterly dissolved a State) prolong the imprisonment of their King in *England*; so that nothing could be effected for his ransome, which King *Edward* thinkes long till he have in his Treasury: and urges likewise for his part, very hard conditions; requiring, say they, besides infinite summes, that King *John* should doe homage, and hold the Kingdome of *France* of the Crowne of *England*: which hee with great disdain refuseth, as being not in his power to alien what was unalienable, vowing that no milery of his should constraine him to doe any thing prejudiciale to his successors, to whom he would leave the State as hee received it. But yet at length offers other, and more large conditions than the French were willing to yeede unto, which being long in debating, and nothing concluded (after fourte yeares expectation) King *Edward* in great displeasure, resolves to make an end of this worke with the sword, and to take possession of the Kingdome of *France*. And over he passes to *Calais*, with a Flete of cleaven hundred sayle. His Army he devides into three battailes, one he commits to the Prince of *Wales*, another to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the third he leads himselfe. And first hee marches to the City of *Aras*, which hee takes within three dayes: Thence into *Champagne*, where the Cities of *Sens*, and *Nevers* are rendered unto him. The Dutchy of *Burgogne* terrified with these examples, redeemes it selfe from spoyle, upon paying two hundred thousand Florins of golde. Furnished with which treasure, and booties by the way, up King *Edward* marches to *Paris*, where the *Dauphin* (who had now the title of Regent, having lately overcome the faction, and executed the principall of the Mutiniers) was with great forces (which in the common danger stoked together to defend their Countrey) and would not (by the example of his father and Grandfather) bee drawne out to hazard upon any attempt, but stood onely upon his defences; which the King of *England* seeing, after many provocations, raysed his siege, and returnes into *Brittaine* to refresh his Army. In the meane time the Regent layes in mighty store of victuals, provides that the Souldiers should have enough without pressing the inhabitants, and with extreme diligence so fortifies the City, as King *Edward* returning with all his refresched power, was utterly disappointed of his hopes, to doe any good ther. Thus that great City which was like to have endangered the whole Kingdome of *France*, was the onely meanes to preserve it.

From hence King *Edward* takes his way towards *Chartres*, with purpose to besiege that Citie; but being by an horrible tempest of haile, thunder and lightning, that fell upon his Army, so terrified, as hee vowed to make peace with the

France spoyled by the
souldiers and
others on all
sides.

King Edward
goes to take
possession of
the kingdome
of France.

Anno
Reg. 34

The treaty of
Accord con-
cluded at
Britigny.

Vid. Append.

the French King, upon any reasonable conditions, as hee shortly after did, at the treaty of *Britigny* neere *Chartres*, upon these Articles. That the Country of *Poitou*, the Fiefes of *Thovars*, and *Bellevalle*, the Country of *Gifcoigne*, *Agenois*, *Perigort*, *Limosin*, *Cahors*, *Torbe*, *Bigorre*, *Rovergne*, *Angoumois* in soveraignty, with the Homages of the Lords withinthose Territories, *Montrouzel* on the Sea, *Ponthieu*, *Calais*, *Ghines*, *La Merk*, *Sangote*, *Boulogne*, *Hames*, *Vales* & *Onis* should be to the king of *England*: who besides was to have three Millions of Scutes of gold: whereof fixe hundred thousand presently in hand, foure hundred thousand the yeere following, and the Surplus in two yeeres after insuing, upon reasonable payment.

And for this, the King of *England*, and his Sonne the Prince of *Wales*, as well for them, as their Succelors for ever, should renounce all their right pretended to the Crowne of *France*, the *Duchy of Normandy*, the countries of *Touraine*, *Aniou*, *Maine*, the Soveraignty and Homage of the *Duchy of Brittaine*, and the Earledome of *Flanders*; and withinthree weekes King *John* to be rendred at *Calais*, at the charge of the King of *England*, except the expences of his house. For assurance of which accord should bee given into his hand Hostages: *Louys Duke of Aniou*, *John Duke of Berry* (King *Johns sonnes*) *Phillip Duke of Orleance* his brother, *John Duke of Burgogne*, the *Conts of Blois*, *Alesson*, *Saint Pol*, *Harcourt*, *Poncian*, *Valentinois*, *Grand Pre*, *de Brenne*, *des Forrests*, the *Lords Vaudmont*, *Canscy*, *Pieniez*, *de Saint Venant*, *de Preaux*, *de Momerancy*, *de Garanciecis*, *La Roche guion*, *Eftou-teville*, *Le Dauphin d' Andrigil*, *de Crillon*, sufficient cautions forthesayd Summes, and conditions. The *Scots* not to be ayded by the French King, nor the *Flemings* by the *English*. *Charles King of Navarre*, and his brother *Phillip* are comprehended likewise in these Articles, &c.

King John
delivered.

1361.
Anno
Reg. 35

The second
great pesti-
lence.

This treatie of good accord and finall Peace, signified by both Kings, was ratified by their two eldest sonnes; *Edward*, and *Charles*: and sworne unto by the Nobility of both Kingdomes. The Hostages are delivered unto King *Edward*, who departing from *Honfleur*, brought them into *England*, leaving the Earle of *Warwicke* in *France*, to have a hand in the execution of the Accord. King *John* is honourably conducted to *Calais*, attending the promised Summe, the first gage of his libertie. The City of *Paris* yeelds one thousand Royals; by whose example other Cities, contribute according to their proportions. And thus is King *John* delivered, after having remained Prisoner in *England* neere about five yeeres. And both Kings depart in kinde manner, with all demonstrations of brotherly Love.

King *Edward* returning with his Crownes, calls a Parliament, wherein the forme of the Accord was read, and allowed of all the Estates; and an Oath taken by the Nobles to observe the same for their parts. Here the K. restores to the Priors *Aliens*, their Houses, Lands, Tenements, which he had taken from them *Anno Reg. 12.* for the maintenance of his French Warres: which now being ended, he grants by his Letters Patents, in as free manner, as before they held them. A rare Example of a just King, being seldome seene that Princes let goe any thing, whereon they have once fastned!

Now agaist, was the joy and glory that *Englland* received by their gettings, seasoned with the sownenesse of another mortalitie, called *The second Pestilence*, whereof dyed many Noble men, the chiefe was *Henry Duke of Lancaster*, of the Royall blood, a Prince of great note for wisedom & valour: who had beene an especiall Actor in all these Warres, and a principall Pillar of the Crowne of *England*: whose Daughter and Heyre was a little before married to *John of Gaunt* (by dispensation, being neere of consanguinity) whereby

*Anno
Reg. 36*

whereby he is made Duke of *Lancaster*. And shortly after, by the like Dispensation, the Prince of *Wales* marries the Countesse of *Kent*, Daughter to *Edmond*, brother to *Edward* the second. And so both are provided of Marches within the Kingdome. The King gives to the Prince of *Wales*, the *Duchy of Aquitaine*, reserving to himselfe Homage and Healty, and shortly after sends him over with his wife, and Court to live there. His sonne *Edmund Earle of Rymer*, is sent into *Ireland*, with a regiment of 1500 men to gward his Earledome against the *Irish*, and was created Duke of *Clarence* in the next Parliament held at *Westminster* in November, which continued untill the feast of *Saint Brice*, King *Edwards Birth-day*, and the fiftieth yeaer of his age. Wherein for a *Publike* he shewes himselfe extraordinarily gracieous to his people, freely pardoning many offences, releasing prisoners, revoking Exiles, &c. And upon petition of the *Cotamons*, causes *Bills* to be made in *French*, to be made in *English*, that the Subject might understand the Law, by which he holds what he hath, and is to know what he doth. A blessed Act and worthy so great a King, who if he could thereby have rendered the same also perspicuous, it had beene a worke of eternall honori; but such is the Fate of Law, that in what language soever it speakes, it never speakes plaine, but is wrapt up in such difficulties and mysteries (as all professions of profit are) as it gives more affliction to the people than it doth remedy. *Hebrie* was also an act passed for *Purveyors* (as there had beeene many befores in this time) that nothing should be taken up but for ready mony, upon strict punishment. For retribution of which relievments the Parliament granted six and twenty shillings eight pence for transportation of every sacke of woolpe for three yeeres. Thus all were pleased, saving the remooving of the Staple, from the Townes of *England* to *Calais*, was some grievalce to those whom it concerned. Yet the Kings desire to intich that Towne, being of his owne acquisition, and now a member of the Crowne of *England*, might herein well be boorne withall. And sure this K. the most reawned for valour & Godnes, that ever raignid in thiskingdom, not only laboured to advance the State by enlarging the Dominions thereof, but to make his people as well good as great, by reforming their vices (whereto fortune and opulent States are evermore subject) as may be noted in the next Parliament held at *Westminster*, *Anno Reg. 37.* where for the publike God, certaine *Sumptuary laws*, the most necessary to prevent *Ryot* (that dissolving sicknesse, the sever Hestique of a State) were ordained both for Apparell and Dyet; appointing every degree of men from the Shepheard to the Prince, the Stuffe and Habits they shold weare: prohibiting the adorhement of *Gold* and *Silver*, *Silkes*, and rich Furres to all, except eminent persons. Wherby superfluitie were shut out, and home-made Commodities onely used. The Labourer and Husbandman is appointed but one meale a day, and what meates he shold eat, &c. whereby *Gluttony* and *Drunkenesse*, those hidious evils which have since utterly disfashioned, and infieble the *English* Nation, were avoyded. So carefull was this frugall King for preservynge the estate of his Subjects from excesse.

And as provident was he for the ordering of his owne, committing his treasure to the safest Chest that Religion could keepe lockt. For by a certificate *Anno Reg. 30.* sent to Pope *Urbane*, concerning *Pluralities*, and the estates of Church-men in *England*, there were found more of the Spirituallity which bare office about this King, than any other of Christendome beside. As first *Simon Langham* Archbisshop of *Canterbury*, was Chancellor of *England*, *William Wiskham* Archdeacon of *Lincolne*, Keeper of the Privie Seale;

Clergy men
Officers to
the King.

Scale: David Willer, Parson of Somersham, Master of the Rolles: Ten beneficed Priests Civilians, Masters of Chancery: William Mulse Deane of Saint Martins le Grand; chiefe Chamberlaine of the Exchequer, Receiver and Keeper of the Kings treasure and Jewels: William Askby, Archideacon of Northampton; Chancolor of the Exchequer: William Digby, Prebendary of Saint Martins; Clatke of the Privy Scale: Richard Chesbrough Prebend of Saint Stephans, Treasurer of the King house; Henry Snatch Person of Dundell, Master of the Kings Wardrobe: John Newham, Parson of Fenn-stanton, one of the Chamberlaines of the Exchequer, and keeper of the Kings Treasurie and Jewels: John Rousbie, Parson of Hulwick, Surveyor and Comptroller of the Kings workes: Thomas Brittingham Parson of Asbie, Treasurer to the King for the parts of Guienes, and the Marches of Calais: John Troyes Treasurer of Ireland, a Priest, and beneficed there. These men, being without those Feminine Ginesse of attraction and consumption, devoted onely to Sanctitie, were thought then fittest to be husbands for his profit.

Shortly after, three Kings came to visite the King of England, The King of France, the King of Scots, and the King of Cyprus: The occasions that mooved the French King might be divers, but it seemes the speciall were to free some Hostages that remained here, and to cleare such imputations as were had of him; for not observing in all points the late Accord: wherewith his Nobles were much discontented, and many difficulties arose among them: so that in an Assembly of the States at Paris, certaine particular Lords, whose Homages were passed over to the King of England, protested against it; allegging, how that the King could not dispose of the Sovereigntie of the Kingdome, nor alien his Dernarie, and therefore they would not obey it. The French King notwithstanding, least King Edward should thinke this but a colluson betweene him and his Subjects, publishes his Commandement for the observation of the Accord, and therof certifies King Edward. Besides, he had undertaken a journey for the Holy Warres, and desired to settle all things in peace at home, before his going. And this might bee the occasion of his coming, and not his love to the Countesse of Salisbury, as is reported. But howsoever, this King shewed a strange disposition to returne to the Gaole, where hee had suffered so much affliction, and where shortly after his coming, hee ended his life, much lamented of the King of England, who solemnly attened his Corps to Dover, whence it was convoyed to Saint Denys, and entombed with his Antecessors.

The death of
King John of
France.

1364.

Anno
Reg. 38

The French
call him 10-
hannes de
Acito.

The businesse
of Britaine
accommoda-
ted for a time.

The debate for the Duchy of Brabant is about this time determined by the death of Charles de Blay, slaine in a Battaille neere Vannes, by John de Montfort, and the English Forces, led by the Lord Latimer, Sir John Chandos, and Sir Hugh Caverley. John de Montfort marries Mary daughter to King Edward, and by his consent doth his homage for the Duchy, to Charles (now King of France) compounding with the widdow of Charles de Blay for a sum of money, and some estate in land.

And here we have some tyme of rest, which the Souldier whom the War had bred, could not well brooke. The cast Companies in France, though they had no head, yet had strong bodies, and did much mischiefe in many parts of that Kingdome, till they were employed in the Warres of Spaine, which fell out shortly after. A company of them passed over into Italy, under the conduct of Sir John Hawkyns, a great Warriour, who found such entertainment with the Princes there (where he revived Militarie discipline, that had laine long unused among them) and got such honour and estate by his valour, as his fame remaines to this day, and his statue amongst their memorable

Princes

Princes for action and vertue, though he went but a Taylor out of this Kingdome, which in those dayes could have furnished the whole world with Leaders, and expert Militarie men.

And now heere have we brought this mighty King to the Fortieth yeare of his Reigne, which had it beene his last, we had left him the most glorious and triumphant Prince in the world, to whom Fortune never yet shewed her backe, never was retrograde. But now these last ten yeares present us with a turning of the Beame, a declination from that height of glory, with certaine blemishes that age and frailtie brought upon him. This new King of France, Charles the fifth, Intituled *The wise*; recovered great advantages upon him, having in the life time of his Father strugled so with affliction (a better Mistresse of wiseman than prosperity) and learned so well to know a Crowne before he had it, as now he manages the same with great temperance and vigour than force (which had beene too adventurously employed by his Father and Grand-father) hee workes his fortune by lying still, having excellent aydes and ministers to execute his desigues, and labour for him: of whom for his Warres, Guesclin a Breteigne, whom hee made Constable of France, was of especiall note, and first shewed the way how that State was to bee recovered.

The Prince of Wales remaining in his Dutchy of Aquitaine, with a great Court, which required great expences, and many military attendants, without worke, is solicited by Peter King of Castile, chased out of his Kingdome by his bastard brother Henry, to ayde him to recover the same: which the Prince upon great promises of remuneration undertakes by the consent of his father. The cause was better than the person. For this Peter sonne to Alfonso 11. King of Castile, had committed so tyrannicall outrages, as were intollerable to his Subjectes, oppressing and destroying his Nobles, to inrich himselfe, putting away, and after murthering his wife (which was daughter to Peter Duke of Bourbon, and sister to the now Queen of France) by the instigation of his Concubine Maria de Padilla, whom hee afterwards married. Whereupon the State adhering to his brother Henry (who though hee were a bastard by his birth was more legitimate by his virtues than hee, who was more a bastard by his vices) crowned him King of Spaine at Burgos, and forced Peter to flye the Kingdome. This Peter thus rejected, the Prince of Wales, with an Army of thirtie thousand, attended by his brother John Duke of Lancaster, and many Lords of England, goes to re-invest in his Kingdome. Henry is ayded by the French, and those floting companies fore-remembred, led by Guesclin Constable, and Dandren Marshall of France; having besides of Castiliads, Christians, and Sarazins so many, as his Army consisted of neere an hundred thousand men. Upon the borders of Castile it came to a Battaille, the Prince of Wales hath the victory: Henry is put to flight, the French Leaders taken prisoners, and Peter put into his Throne againe at Burgos.

The worke done, reward for the same is required by the Prince, which Peter could not, or cared not to provide, but starving him with delays, inforged him in the end to returne to Bordeaux, without mony to pay his Army, and which was worse, without health, which he never after recovered. This successe had this unfortunate action, undertaken to right an ungratefull Tyrant, who afterward notwithstanding, was againe dispossessed, taken, and put to death, by his brother Henry. It is written, that to strengthen himselfe, hee combined with a Prince of the Sarazins, married his daughter,

Anno
Reg. 40

1367

Anno

Reg. 41

The Prince
of Wales ayds
the King of
Castile.

The Prince
obtains the
victory in
Spaine.

The Life and Reigne of Edward the third.

The ill
cuse
of that
journey

1369.
Anno
Reg. 43

The Empereur makes a journey into France to reconcile the two Kings.

The allega-
tions of the
English Ambas-
adors before the
Emperour.

vii. Append.

The reply of
the French.

and renounced the Christian faith : but it is certainly the reward of evil Princes to be made worse than they are.

The Prince of Wales returning thus out of Spaine, charged with more debt than before, and destitute of means to content his people, falls upon another misfortune (as commonly men in these declinations, seeking remedies in crease maladies) imposing a new taxation upon the Gascons, of Fevage, or chyngay, so discontented the people, as they exclaim against the government of the English, and appeal to the King and Court of France for redresse. The King of France, at the instance of the great Lords and others, who were turned over by the accord to hold of the Crowne of England, sends a Gentleman to the Prince of Wales at Burdeaux with summons to answer before him and his Court at Paris, to these complaints:

Now had the Lords of Aminiaque, D'Albert, Peregort, Cominges, and many others, made their protestations against the King of England, for the Crowne of France, which, they say, they were by nature to aby, and not to a strange souverainé : that it was absolutely against the Fundamentall Law of the Kingdome, to dissever them from the Crowne : that the contract was made in prison, and therefore incivill, and not to be held by the right of Nations. So that they were resolved to spend their lives and estates, rather than bee under the government of England. By their example the Cities of the County of Ponthieu rendered themselves to Guy Conte de Saint Poll, and Guy de Castillon.

The King of England complaines of this breach of accord to the Pope, and the Emperour Charles 4. who made a journey into France to reconcile the two Kings, and determine the busynesse. Before whom our Ambassadours first declare how this accord, having beene more for the good of France than us, in regard we desygned thereby, not only our Title to Normandy, Touraine, and Anjou, the fairest and richest Countries of France: But also our Title to the Crowne, to the entrie might hold in suzeraigny the Duchy of Aquitaine, the county of Ponthieu, with som other peaces, which by Hereditary right appertained to the Crowne of England, whereby the effusion of Christian blood was stayed. France had peace, and their King restored in faire manner, after a faire imprisonment, and upon the most reasonable conditions could be devised. Notwithstanding the French King, (whom himselfe, with the whole counsell of France contracted the Accord, and solemnly swore to obserue the same) hath contrary to the Law of God and Nations (after he had recovered his Hostages by fraud) seized both upon the Duchy of Aquitaine, and the Country of Ponthieu, without denouncing Warre, by his Herald's &c.

The French Reply: How we by the Accord, were bound immedately to withdraw our Army out of France, which they say we did not, during all the Reigne of their King Iohn! That the Peace was thereby made more offensive than the war, they being constrained to purchase the deportment of our Souldiers, with greater charge than would have maintained an Army. That the breach was on our side, for that the Souldiers were ours. That King Edward was bound to renounce his Title to the Crowne of France, in open Assembly of the States of both Realmes, which they say was not done. And concerning the releasing of their King: they say, it cost France more gold than the redeeming of Saint Louys their K. his brother, the Peers, and the whole Army taken by the Soldan, Alinfidell. Thus both sides defend their cause, being easie for Princes who will breake out of their Covenants to finde evasions. The French King (it seernes) though willing to get in what he could, yet was very loath to renew a war, & therfore with many presents courts the King of England: Who seeing himselfe thus deluded,

prepares

The Life and Reigne of Edward the third.

prepares to have out his Sword. And having borrowed great summes of the Clergy, sends over John Duke of Lancaster, and Humphry Bohun Earle of Hereford, with a mighty Army to Calais, to invade France on this side, whiles the Prince of Wales workes to recover the revolted Townes on the other. But little was effected ; the Duke shortly returns. And then Thomas Beaufort Earle of Warwick, with fresh supplies is sent over, who dyes in the journey. Sir Robert Knoles, a man renowned in those times for valour and counsell, is made Leader of an Army, consisting of many great Lords, who disdaining to bee commanded by him whom they held their inferior, overthrew themselves, and the Action.

Thus all went backe, and the French King growes both in State and Alliance. Margueret, sole daughter and Heire to Louys Earle of Flanders, to whom King Edward sought to match his sonne Edmond, is wonne to marry Phillip Le Hardy Duke of Burgogne, brother to the French King. And this much vexes King Edward, who the better to furnish himselfe for revenge, calls a Parliament at Westminster, wherein hee resumes his claime to the Crowne of France, and requires ayde of his Subjects, and hath it. The Clergy granted him, fifty thousand pounds, to be payd the same yeare ; and the Laitie as much. For the levying whereof, every Parish in England was rated first to pay 23. shillings four pence (the great helping the leste) upon supposition there had beeene Parishes enough to have made up that summe. But by certificate upon the Kings Writs sent out to examine what number of Parish Churches were in every Shire, they found it came short : and then rated every Parish at five pound sixteene shillings (the greater to helpe the leste) and so, of 8600. Parishes, found to be in the 37. Shires, 50. thousand, 181. pound, 8. pence was raised. But in regard of the great povertie of Suffolke and Devon-shire, the 181. pound was abated, and the King answered fifty thousand pound for the Laytie.

Vpon this Supply the King grants that the great Charter, and the Charter of Forrests, should be observed in all points : which in most Parliaments of his, is ever the first Act ; as may be seen in the printed Statutes. And now John Duke of Lancaster, and Edmond Earle of Cambridge, are sent with Forces into Aquitaine, to ayde the Prince of Wales, who after hee had sacked the City of Limoges, that was revolted, his health failing to performe atty more, leavys the prosecution of the Warre to his brother : and with his wife, and yong sonne Richard borne at Burdeaux, returns home into England, and here resignes unto his father the Duchy of Aquitaine.

The Duke of Lancaster, after the departure of the Prince, did little, but being now a widdower (his wife dying two yeares before, in the third great pestilence, in which yeare also Phillip wife to King Edward ended her life) hee marries Constance eldest daughter to Peter King of Castile, by whom he had the empty title of King, and was (after the death of his father-in-law) stiled King of Castile and Leon. This Constance, though sice were the daughter of a wicked father and infamous mother, yet was so happy, that the daughter she had by the Duke of Lancaster, named Katherine, became after Queen of Castile and Leon, (being married to Henry third in possession before, and in her right King of both those Realmes) and left her posterity Kings of Spaine. Edmond Earle of Cambridge, married also at the same time Isabel the yongest daughter of King Peter, and both shortly after returned into England, though without victory, yet with wives. Lionell Duke of Clarence, h[is] little before, marries Violanta, the Duke of Millaines daughter in Italy, where they feasted him soas shortly after he died.

Anno
Reg. 44
Forces sent
into France.

Anno
Reg. 45
A Subsidie
granted by
Parliament,
and the man-
ner of seizing
the same.

The Duke of
Lancaster sent
into Aquitaine
C
The Prince of
Wales returns
into England.

The Duke of
Lancaster mar-
ries Constance,
daughter to
the King of
Sicilie.

1372
Anno
Reg. 46

The Life and Reigne of Edward the third.

The Earle of
Pembroke ta-
ken prisoner
by the Span-
iard.

1373.
Anno
Re. 47

The City of *Rochell*, that yet held out for the *English*, had indured a long siege both by Sea and land, to releve which important peece, the Earle of *Pembroke* is sent with forty shippes well manned and victualled, and besides furnished with twenty thousand markes to defrey the voyage, who incourting the *Spanish Armado* sent to ayde the *French* in this siege (by *Henry* now King of *Castile*) after a long and cruell conflict, is taken prisoner, and his Navy utterly destroyed. King *Edward* himselfe, though now aged, sets forth, with a mighty Army to recover these losses, but thereby lost more, the windes with his fortune being against him, beat him backe, having spent in this preparation nine hundred thousand markes.

Shortly after, *John Duke of Lancaster*, passes over againe to *Catais* with another Army, which hee leads through *France*, by the way of *Auergne*, where amongst the mountaines he lost many of his people for want of victuals, and almost all his horse, so that he came to *Burdeaux* with a starved and distressed company, which after some time he relieves and made certaine attempts upon the enemy, but effected nothing, the date of victories was out; all went ill with the *English*. The Duke returnes the next yeere, and all *Gascogne* revolts except *Burdeaux* and *Bayon*.

King *Edward* hath another supply by Parliament, a Tenth of the Clearyg, and a fifteenth of the Laytie, towards these warres: which now are sought to be ended by treaty, an unlikely way to doe any good. Two yeares are spent therein, at *Barges* and other places, with great charge of Commissioners, and much debate. The *French* having now the advantage of the time, would make their owne conditions, they require the Towne of *Calais* (from whence King *Edward* had now remooved his Staple, in regard of the danger of Merchants goods) and restitution of great summes of money, which were rioto be yeelded: So that nothing but temporary Truces were to be gotten to serve present shifts, wherein the *English*, and their party, had ever the worse.

And here at home, besides the sicknesse of the Prince (which grew desperate), the State is diseased, the Kings age is milled, his treasure exhausted, and his affaires ill managed. A Parliament to cure these evils, is called at *Westminster*, the Kings wants are opened, and supplyes required: the whole body of the Assembly, weary to beare these continual burthenes, in stead of contributions, exhibit complaints, charging the Kings Officers with fraude, and humbly craue that the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Lord *Latimer*, then Lord *Chamberlaine*, Dame *Alice Peirce*, the Kings Concubine, and one Sir *Richard Sturz*, might be amooved from Court. Their Complaints, and desires are so vehemently vrged by their Speaker, Sir *Peter de la Mare*; as the King rather than not to be supplyed, gave way unto them, and all these persons are presently put from Court. The Prince was held to favour their proceeding, for there seemes to bee no good correspondence betweene him and his brother the Duke of *Lancaster*, who now managed all under his aged fatlier, and whose ambition might be dangerous to his young Sonne *Richard*, whom he was like to leave to his mercy.

The King in this Parliament, being the Fiftieth year of his reigne, to gratifie his Subjects, grants another generall Pardon, as another *Jubile*; wherein onely *William Wincham*, Bishop of *Winchester* is excepted, being lately by the procurement of the Duke of *Lancaster* fallen into the Kings displeasure, and forbidden to coime to the Parliament. But this *Jubile* was soone turned to sorrow, by the death of the Prince of *Wales*, which happened in this Parliament time. A heavy losse to the State, being a Prince of whom wee

Another Sub-
sidie granted
by Parlia-
ment:

1376.
Anno
Reg. 50

A Parlia-
ment at *Westmin-
ster* which
was called
the good Par-
liament.
The Duke of
Lancaster
with others
banished the
Court.

Another
Jubile.

The death of
the Prince of
Wales.

The Life and Reigne of Edward the third.

we never heard any ill, neither received other note than of goodnessse, and the noblest performances, that Magnanimitie and Wisedome could ever shew: so much as what prayse can be given to Virtue, is due unto him. His death changed the face of affaires. The late excluded parties returne to Court, and their former places. This Parliament, called the good Parliament, now wrought ill effects. Sir *Peter de la Mare*, at the suite of *Alice Peirce*, an impudent woman (working upon the Kings impotencies) is committed to perpetuall imprisonment at *Nottingham*. An act without example of former times; and did no good in this, especially being wrought by such a subject. This insolent (the common evill of such fortunes) that shee entermeddled with Courts of Justice and other Offices, where she her selfe would sit to effect her desire: which, though in all who are so exalted, are ever excessive, yet in a woman most immoderate, as having lesse of discretion, and more of gree-

The Duke of
Lancaster re-
turnes with
the rest, to the
Court.
The revenge
and behaviour
of *Alice
Peirce*.

The Duke of *Lancaster* is come now to have the Regency, and to manage all the affayres of the Kingdome, and might thereby presume farther. But King *Edward*, to prevent the mischieves, which by disordering the succession, upon *Richard of Burdeaux*, providently settled the same in the Parliament, upon *Richard of Burdeaux*, creating him first Earle of *Chester* and *Cornwall*, and then Prince of *Wales*; which made much for his present safety, least *John of Lancaster* should supplant him, as Earle *John* did his Nephew *Arthur*, in the like case. For (sure it seemes) the Duke had his designt that way bent: but this confirmation by the Parliament (which hee had offendred) and shortly after a breach with the Citizens of *London*, put him so by, as he durst not now attempt that which his Sonne after effected. But yet, hee behaveth himselfe very imperiously in this state hee had. And first hee wets his authority on the Earle of *March*, commanding him over to the garrison of *Calais*, and the parts there about. Which the Earle refuseth, and cryeyleth up his Rodde, with the Office of *Marshall*, that obey his commandement therein. The Duke takes the Rodde, and gives it with the Office to Sir *Henry Piercy*, a man most inward with him.

Shortly after, the Parliament is assembled againe at *Westminster* (whether anew or the last prorogued, I know not) and thither, the Duke himselfe bringes Prince *Richard* (of the age of a 11. yeaers) places him in the Kings Seate, and taught him to demand a Subsidie. Which was two Tenths, to be payde in one year: Or twelve pence in the pound of all Merchandizes sold for one year; and one pound of silver for every Knights Fee; and of eveyre Fire-house one penny. And this demand the Duke earnestly urges, saying, One of them ought of necessity to be granted; in regard the enemy proclayming Warre, purposed to invade the Realme.

The Knights of the Parliament (whom the Duke they say, had by practise made, and put by all of the last Assembly, except twelve which hee could not alter) require respite to answer a day is appointed. The maior part make choyce of one *Hungerford*, a Creature of the Dukes to deliver their answer. The other would have Sir *Peter de la Mare* to be enlarged, and deliver theirs; and also answer to what could be objected against him, before the Lords in Parliament; and there to submit himselfe. Then the Duke demands ayde of the Bishops. They refuse to treate therin, without their Brother, the Bishop of *Worcester*, prohibited from comming to the Parliament.

Now there fell out an Accident, that besides gave interruption to this busynesse: A certayne Divine, named *John Wycliffe*, deprived by the Archbishop

The Duke of
Lancaster go-
versn all.
*Richard of
Burdeaux* cre-
ated Prince of
Wales.

The Earle of
March re-
signes his
Office of
Marshall,
which is given
to Sir *Henry
Piercy*.

John Stow.
The Prince
motions a
subsidy in di-
vers kindes.

The parlia-
ment divided.

The Life and Reigne of Edward the third.

A diffention
about John
Wickliffe.

His doctrine.

The Duke of
Lancaster fa-
vours Wick-
liffe, and why.

The conventi-
on of Wickliffe
before the bi-
shops in Pauls

The Citizens
of London take
their Bishops
part.

of Canterbury of a benefice in oxford, which he was found unjustly to holde; had heeretofore, being discontented (the humour that commonly breeds Scisme) inveighed in his Sermons, and other actes in the Schooles against the abuses of Church-men, Monkes and other religious orders (which were not then so free from scandall, but might well be taxed) and had by this doctrine there, and in London wonne many Disciples unto him (who after were called Lollards) professing poverty, going bare footed, and poorly cladde in russet, which made them (as extremes are) the more noted, and get passage into the opinion of the people, apt to embrace novelties, and usually beguiled by disguises, in regard they rather *Believe than Judge*. Amongst other his Doctrines, hee taught that neyther King or other Secular Lord, could give any thing in *Perpetuitie* unto Church-men, and that Temporall Lords if they neede, might lawfully take the goods of such religious persons to relieve them in their necessities, by the example of *William Rufus*, &c. A Doctrine very pleasing to great men, who commonly embrace Sects, eyther for ambition to get, or for jalousie not to lose, or for hatred to revenge.

This man, the Duke of Lancaster, and Sir Henry Piercy, much favour and cherish, extolling him both for his learning and integrity of life, which made him so farre presume, as he daily in one Church or other published his opinions without feare: Whereupon at length hee is cited to answer before the Archbishop, the Bishop of London and others, in Paules. At the day appointed, the Duke of Lancaster and the Lord Marshall goe to conduct him: By the way he is animated by his Followers not to feare the Bishops, and entring into Paules, the prease is so great, as hardly any passage could be made, whereupon the Marshall usynge some violence, thrust in upon the people, which Courtney, Bishop of London prohibited him to doe, saying: *If he had knowne he would have behaved himselfe so in that place, he should not have come into the Church*. The Duke hearing these words, angrily replied, *That the Marshall shalld execute his authority, whethor he wold or not*. When they were come to our Ladies Chappell, the Duke and Barons, with the Bishops, sitting downe, John Wickliffe (sent for in by the Lord Marshall) was by himselfe willed to sit downe, in regard he sayd, the man had much to answere, and needed a convenient Seat. The Bishop of London told him, it was against all law and reaon, that he who was there cited before his Ordinary, shold sit: Hereupon contumelious words arose betweene the Lord Marshall and the Bishop, the Duke takes the Marshalls part, and sharply reprehended the Bishop; the Bishop returns the like to the Duke, who in great rage, seeing he could not prevale, swore he would pull downe the pride of him, and of all the Bishops of England, *You trust, sayd he, in your Parents, but they can profit you nothing. I trust not in my Parents*, said the Bishop, *nor in any man living, but in God in whom I ought to trust*. The Duke, as if whispering in his eare told him, *hee had rather pull him out of the Church by the haire of the head, than suffer these indignities: which words the Londoners over-hearing, swore with a loud voice, they would rather lose their lives, than suffer their Bishop to be thus injuriously used, and threatned to be pulled out of his owne Church*. Their fury was the more incensed against the Duke, for that the day before in the Parliament (whereof he was president) it was required in the Kings name, that from thenceforth there should be no more a Maior of London, but a Captain appointed for the government of the City, and that the Lord Marshall of England should arrest offenders within the Liberties, as in other places.

About this busynesse, and this wrong offered to their Bishop, the Citizens assem-

The Life and Reigne of Edward the third,

The Citiz:ns
in uprose,

assembling the morrow after, to consult among themselves, it happened the Lord Fitz-Water, and Guido Brian, came into the City, which the people seeing, furiously ranne upon them, and were like to beat them downe for comming unsent for, at that time. The Lord Fitzwater protested hee came to no other end, but to offer his service to the City, being by inheritance their Standard-bearer, and was to take injuries offered to them, as to him selfe, and therefore willed them to looke to their defence. Whereupon they brought foorth a prisoner in his Gyves, and let him at liberty, but found not Xpres. Then this furious multitude ran to assaile the Savoy, which a Knight of the Dukes seeing, hastes to the place where his Master dynd, & acquaints him with this uproare in the City. The Duke leapes from the Table so hastily, that he hurt both his shannes on the Fourme, and with Sir Henry Piercy, alone takes boate, and away he gets to Kennington neere Lambeth, where the Prince with the young Prince lay, to whom he complaines of this Ryot, and the violence offered him. In the meane time the multitude comming to the Savoy, a Priest inquisitive to know the busynesse, was answered, *They went to take the Duke and the Lord Marshall, and compell them to deliver Sir Peter de la Mare, unjustly detayned in Prison*. The Priest replied; *That sir Peter was a Traitor to the King, and worthy to be hanged*. At which words they all cryed out, *This is Piercy, this is the Traitor of England, his speech bewrayes him though his apparell be disguised*; and presently they ran upon him, and wounded him to death.

The Bishop of London hearing of this out-rage, leaves his dinnier, hastes to the Savoy, admonishes them to be mindfull of the holy time (being Lent) and for the love of Christ to desist from such seditious actes; assuring them, all things should be fairely ended for the good of the City. Whereupon they were something pacified, and forbear to assault the Dukes house, whose person (ifthey could have found) they had (no doubt) made an end of him, and the Lord Marshall in this their fury, at that time; bilt missing him, they yet hung up his Armes reversed, in signe of Treason in all the principall streets of the City.

The Princeesse from Kennington sent Albero de Vere, Louys Clifford, and Simon Burleigh to the Citizens, perswading them to make their peace with the Duke. They returned this answer, *That for her Honour they would do what soever shee commanded*: but yet enjoyned the Knights, to will the Duke, to permit the Bishop of Winchester, and Peter de la Mare to come to thos manfyer, according to the customs of the Lawes of England. They sent likewise of the chiose Citizens to the sicke King, to excuse them of this Tumult, protesting themselves not to be pridy therunto, but sought all meane to suppress the same, whiche they could not do the whole Communallitie being in commandement. The King told them, *It never was in his thought to infringe their liberties, but he rather desired to enlarge them*. And therefore willed them not to feare, but to returne to appease the Citizens, and keepe them in peace and order: which they did, and were well pleased with this answer. But yet they could not stop the passage of rimes and libels (those secret stings that wound unseene) but that they were daily spread in the City to the defamatiōn of the Duke, and to make his name odious to the people. For which, hee procured the Bishops to excommunicate the Author of such Rimes, and Libels. Notwithstanding this harsh proceeding of the Duke with the State, and in a

The Bishop of
London ap-
peales the tu-
mult.

The Citizens
send to the
King.

A Subsidy
granted in
this Parlia-
ment.

time so unseafonable, both for his owne ends, and the publike busynesse, hee
undertooke; The Commons in Parliament, delirous to ayde their King,
granted a Subsidy on this condition, that being leavied, it shoule be committed
to certaine Earles and Barons to see it issued, according to the occasions
of the Kingdome. But this Subsidy was of a new nature, neyther in any of
those kinds propounded. Every person, man and woman within the King-
dome, aboye the age of 14. yeares, were to pay fourre pence, those who lived
by Almes onely excepted. The Clergy likewise grants 10. pence of every
Parson Beneficed; and of all other Religious perlons 4. pence of the head; A mighty and unknowne ayde, such as never was granted to any King of
England before, and became a Precedent for the next Reigne; wherein it
caused the first and greatest popular Insurrection, that ever was scene in this
Kingdome: So tender a thing is it to taxe the people by the Poule.

And now hereupon the Parliament ended; but not the Dukes displeasure
against the City. The Major and Aldermen are brought before the King at
Sheene, and advised to submis themselves to the Duke, and crave pardon for
their grievous offences. They protest as before; they could not stay the rage
of the multitude, who committed those insolencies, beseeching the King not
to punish such as were innocent and ignorant of the fact, promising the Duke
they would indeavour by all meanes to bring in the malefactors, and compel
them to make satisfaction, to the honour of the Duke, and more sayd
they we cannot doe. Whereupon they were dismissed the Court, and shortly
after from all their places, by power of the Duke of *Lancaster*; Sir Nicho-
las Brember was elected Mayor in stead of *Adam Staple*, and other Aldermen
appointed in their places who were put out.

The death of
King Edward
and the man-
ner thereof.

The King was desirous to have reconcild them to his Sonnes, but sicknesse
having now vanquished him, he is forced to give over the world, as the same
did him, before his breath left him. And first his Concubine packing away
what she could snatch, even to the Rings of his fingers, left him; then his other
attendants, by her example, leaving on what they could fasten, slift away, and
all his Councillours and others forsooke him in his last agony when most he
needed them, leaving his Chamber quite empty; which a poore Priest in the
house seeing, by chance, as he passes, approaches to the Kings bed side, and
finding him yet breathing, calleth upon him to remember his Saviour; and to
ask mercy for his offences, which none before about him would doe; but
every one putting him still in hope of life, though they knew death was upon him (a misery farall to Princes and great persons) whom flattery will never
luffer to know themselves, nor their owne state eyther in health or sick-
nesse) made him neglective of those spirituall cogitations fit for a dying Christian.
But now stirred up by the voyce of this Priest, he shewes all signes of
contrition, and at his last breath exprefses the name of Iesu. Thus dyed this
mighty and victorious King, at his maner of *Sheene* (now *Richmond*) the 21.
day of June, *Anno Dom. 1377.* in the 64. yeare of his Age, having raygned
fifty years, four moneths and odde daies.

His Character
His Justice.

His Character we finde best exprefst in his actions, yet thus briefly. He was
a Prince, he soonest a man, and the longest that held so, of any wee reade. He
was of Personage, nomyly, of an even stature, gracefull, respectiuely affable;
and well expressing himself; A Prince who loved 1. *Justice*, 2. *Order*, and 3.
his *People*, the Supreme vertues of a Sovereign. 1. His love of *Justice*, was
seen by the many Statutes hee made for the due execution therof, and the
most straight binding oath, he ordyned to be ministred unto his Judges and
Iusticiars: the punishment inflicted on them for corruption in their Offices,
causing

His love to
his people,

causing some to be thrust out, and others grievously fined, as Sir *Henry Greene*, and Sir *William Skipwith*, *Anno Reg. 39.* He bettered also that
forme of publike Justice which his Grandfather first began (and which re-
maines to this day) making also excellent lawes for the same. 2. His regard
to the observation of *Order* amongst his people, witnes so many laws, as were
made to restraine them from excesses in all kindes. 3. His love to his Subjects,
was exprest in the often easing of their grievances, and his willingnesse to
give them all faire satisfaction, as appears by the continuall granting of the
(*Anno Reg. 14.*) they were jealous, upon his assuming the title of the King,
dome of *France*, least *England* should thereby come to bee under the sub-
jection of that crowne, as being the greater, he to cleare them of that doubt,
passed a Statute, in the firmest manner could be devised, that this Kingdome
should remaine intyre as before, without violation of the rights it had.

Provident he was in al his actions, never undertaking any thing before he had
first furnished himselfe with meanes to performe it. And therein his Sub-
jects allowed him more with lesse adoe, than ever any of his predecessors
had: and he as fairely issued what he received from them, having none other
private vent of profusion, than his enterprises for advancing the State, and
honour of the Kingdome. True it is, that most attent and carefull he was to
get monies, but yet it was without Sackage of any man, such as his grand fa-
ther made upon the Offices of *Inchie*, the *Treasurie*, and Officers.

For his gifts we finde them not such as eyther hurt his owne Fame and re-
putation, or any way distasted the State. To be short, hee was a Prince who
knew his worke, and did it; and therefore was he better obeyed, better re-
spected and served than any of his predecessors.

His Workes of Piety were great and many, as the founding of *Eastminster*,
an Abbey (of the *Cisteaux Order*) neere the Tower. An Abby for Nunneres
at *Detford*. The Kings Hall in *Cambridge* for poore Schollers. An Hospital
for the poore at *Calais*. The building of Saint *Stephans* Chappell at *Westminster*,
with the endowment of 300. pound, *per annum*, to that Church. His aug-
menting the Chappell at *Windsor*, and provisions there for Church-men, and
24. poore Knights, &c. These were his publicke workes, the best Monu-
ments and most lasting to glorifie the Memory of Princes. Besides these,
his private buildings are great and many; as the Castle of *Windsor*, which
he re-edified and enlarged. The Castle of *Quinborow*, Fortifications at *Calais*
and other places.

His magnificence was shewed in his Tryumphes and Feasts, which were
sumptuously Celebrated, with all due Rites and Ceremonies, the preservers
of Reverence and Majesty. To conclude, hee was a Prince, whose nature
agreed with his Office as onely made for it. Those defaillances we find in him
atlast, we must not attribute to him but his age, wherein wee never yet saw
Prince happy. When their vigor fayles them (which is commonly about
60.) their Fortune doth. Whilst this Prince held together, hee was indissolu-
ble, and as he was then, we take his Figure.

Fortunate he was also in his Wife, a Lady of excellent Vertue, who though
shee brought him little or no Estate, shee brought him much content, some
benefit by Alliance, and a faire Issue. Shee drew evenly with him in all the
courses of Honor that appertained to her side, and seemes a peece so just cut
for him, as answered him rightly in every joyn. Gracious and loving shee
ever shewed herselfe to this Nation, and did many workes of piety, amongst
which *Queenes Colledge* in *Oxford* remaines especially, a Monument of her
Name

His provi-
dence.

His works of
Piety.

His buildings.

His Magnifi-
cence.

His Wife, and
his Issue.

Name and Renowne. And it is worthy the Marke, that this King and his Grand-father Edward the first, the best of our Kings, had the two best Wives: Which shewes that worthinesse is such an Elixar as by contaction (if there be any disposition of goodnessse in the same Mettall,) it will render it of the property: So that these Queenes could be no otherwise than they were, having so excellent Husbands.

She bare unto him seven sonnes, whereof five lived to have Issue; Edward Prince of Wales, Lionel Duke of Clarence, John Duke of Lancaster, Edmond Earle of Cambridge, after Duke of York, and Thomas of Woodstocke, which became Duke of Gloucester. Foure daughters (of five shee bare) lived to bee married. Isabel the eldest: to Ingaram Lord of Croy, Earle of Soissons and Bedford. Joan to Alphonso XI. King of Castile, but shee dyed before shee lay with him. Mary, to John Monford Duke of Brittaine, Margaret, to John Hastings, Earle of Pembrooke, and shee also dyed without Issue.

Thus have we seene the end of this great King: who, how he came to the Crowne we know, and now how he left it we see: In both are considerations of importance. His stepping over his Fathers head to come to his throne, though it were not his fault, yet had it a punishment, and that in a most high kinde: For, having so plentifull, and so able an Issue Male, hee had not yet a sonne of his owne to sit on his Seate; but left the same (worse than he found it) to a Childe of eleven yeares of age, exposed to the Ambition of Vncles, which over weighed him: to a factious and discontented State at home: To broken and distractred inheritances abroad: Himselfe having seene all his great gettings purchased with much experie, travaille and blood-shed, rent cleane from him, and nothing remaining, but onely the poore Towne of Calais. To shew that our Bounds are prescribed us; and a Pillar set by him who beares up the Heavens, which we are not to transspasse.

The end of the Life and Reigne of Edward the third.

Thus

THus farre have I brought this Collection of our History, and am now come to the highest exaltation of this Kingdome, to a State full built, to a Government reared up with all those maine Couplements of Forme and order, as have held it together ever since: notwithstanding those dilapidations made by our civill discord, by the Nonage or negligence of Princes, by the alterations of Religion, by all those corruptions which Time hath brought forth to fret and cankerate the same. And heere I leave, unlesse by this which is done, I finde incouragement to goe on.

